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ART IN AMERICA

An Illustrated Quarterly Magazine

FOUNDED IN 1913

VOLUME 33

JULY, 1945

NUMBER 3

**THE DREAM WORLD OF
SALVADOR DALI**
By A. REYNOLDS MORSE

APHRODITE AND ARTEMIS AS DOLLS
By GEORGE W. ELDERKIN

**THE WOODWORTH PRINCIPLE OF
PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS
APPLIED TO ART BY THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE**
By CARL W. DREPPERD

**A PARALLEL BETWEEN LATE ROMAN
AND MODERN SCULPTURE**
By VALENTINE MULLER

A DRAWING BY TITIAN
By HANS TIETZE

I. J. H. BRADLEY, PORTRAIT PAINTER
By JEAN LIPMAN

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ANNOUNCING

A SPECIAL ISSUE OF *ART IN AMERICA*
FOR OCTOBER, 1945, ON

Research in American Art

to be published in co-operation with the

AMERICAN ART RESEARCH COUNCIL

with Mr. LLOYD GOODRICH, Director of the Council, as Guest Editor
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VOLUME 33

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NUMBER 3

Contents of this Issue

The Dream World of Salvador Dali

A. Reynolds Morse 111

Aphrodite and Artemis as Dolls George W. Elderkin 129

The Woodworth Principle of Psychological
Analysis Applied to Art by the American
People Carl W. Drepperd 133

A Parallel between Late Roman and
Modern Sculpture Valentine Muller 141

A Drawing by Titian Hans Tietze 148

I. J. H. Bradley, Portrait Painter Jean Lipman 154



Letters to the Editor 167

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

CARL W. DREPPERD, research analyst in Americana, author of *Early American Prints, American Pioneer Arts and Artists, The Primer of American Antiques*.

GEORGE W. ELDERKIN, Professor of art and archaeology at Princeton University, formerly editor of *The American Journal of Archaeology*, author of *Archaeological Papers*.

JEAN LIPMAN, editor of *Art in America*, author of *American Primitive Painting*.

A. REYNOLDS MORSE, a plastics machinery engineer, author of numerous technical articles on plastic molding and a collector of modern art with a penchant for Dali.

VALENTINE MULLER, Associate Professor of classical archaeology at Bryn Mawr College, author of *Early Sculpture in Greece and the Near East*.

HANS TIETZE, formerly head of the state museums in Austria and professor of art history at the University of Vienna, author of *Methode der Kunstgeschichte, Tizian, etc.*, co-author of a monograph on Dürer and *Drawings of the Venetian Painters of the XVth and XVIth Centuries*.



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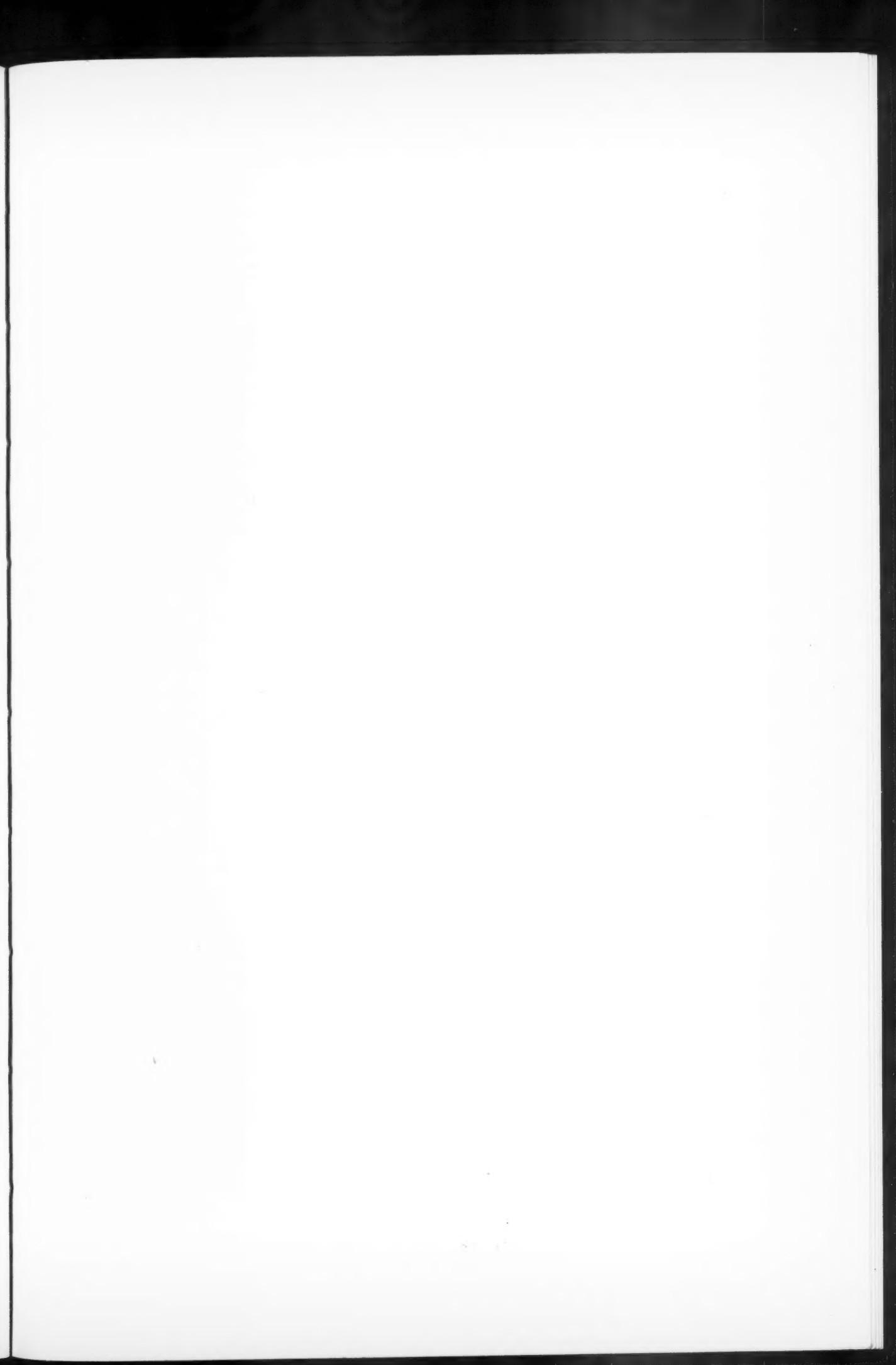
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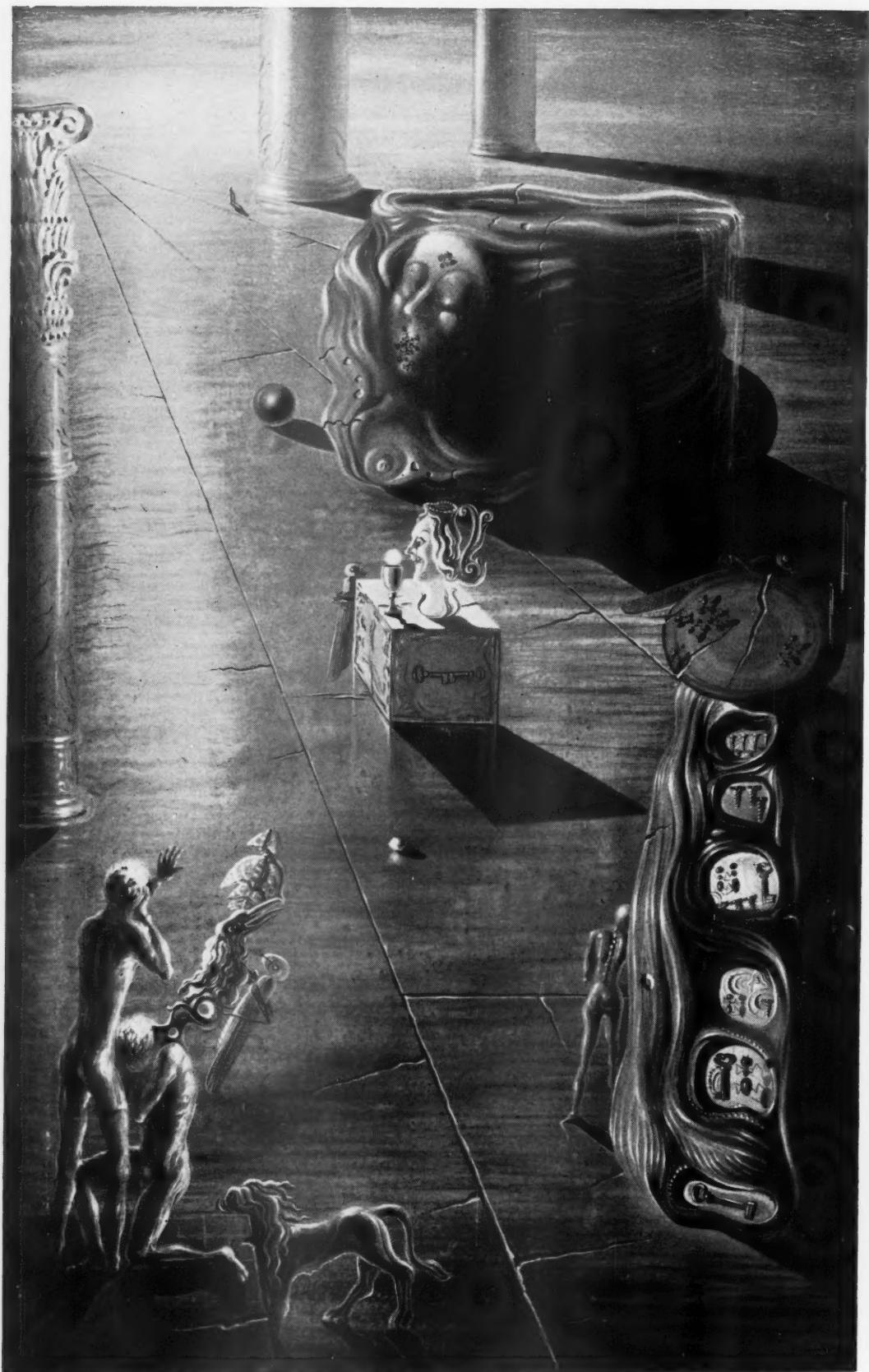


FIG. 1. DALI: THE FONT, 1930. Oil on plywood.

(For Description, turn to page 124)

ART IN AMERICA

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

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THE DREAM WORLD OF SALVADOR DALI

By A. REYNOLDS MORSE
Cleveland, Ohio

Illustrations from the Author's Collection

TO any student of modern trends in art it is readily apparent that Salvador Dali's present position is at best a most ambiguous one. The "experts" and "critics" have consistently refused to assign him any lasting or consecutive place.¹ They still seem to regard his influence as unimportant upon anything except possibly advertising art, and — as has been facetiously said — himself!

And yet it is well known that during the ten years, 1930-1940, Salvador Dali cut a wide and glittering swath across the fields of art in general and surrealism in particular. He came to the United States on the crest of the surrealist wave which did not reach this country till the early 30s, just in time to recompense us for the lost realities of the fat years of the

¹See for example *Modern French Painting* by R. H. Wilenski (Reynal & Hitchcock 1938). This scholarly and excellent book traces the development of modern art, but says point blank that Dali has no definite place in it.

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late 20s, in time to offer the American public a world of fantasy far more acceptable than the realities of the depression.² Dali had the ability to abstract and refine all the real values of the movement. He was therefore able to present to America the very essence of it, ennobled by the full effect of his intricate personal symbology. But he far eclipsed the surrealists, for he did not fall heir to the psychopathologies which finally caused the movement to die out in fitful, pathetic sputters in the flesh pots of Europe. With his sheer technical mastery³ and natural flare for publicity, he was able to make surrealism in America his own, and to exercise a profound influence on art as a whole because he had freed himself from the shackles of a minor movement, and stood as a symbol of freedom from the inertia and lassitude which overtook art after the stimulation of surrealism was lessened by use and familiarity and dissensions. He therefore gradually became synonymous with all that surrealism implies in art both here and abroad, while the original surrealists, one by one, have fallen into all varieties of second class discard. And his symbols slowly became the actual symbols of the movement to the "uncretinized" masses⁴ in whom the new socialization of culture was creating an intense demand for sensations far beyond what has always been considered in good taste for culture and art among the wealthy. The soft violoncello, the cephalic deformation, ants, the grasshopper, the deflated head of the masturbator, the Angelus, the crutch; all these and many more, came to be accepted as the original manifestation of an irrational surrealism, of a Hollywood madness which the newly awakened to art could at least talk about if they could not understand.

So Dali emerged from this productive decade having succeeded in almost completely identifying American surrealism with his own symbology, at least in the popular mind. This was an accomplishment of no small scope, and may yet prove to be of tremendous ultimate importance in the artistic history of our time.

But by and large the critics and the inner circles of the art world have remained stonily unimpressed by Dali's concepts and conceits, refusing even to be amused. Only a very few museums have examples of his work,

²See *Art Digest*, Jan. 15, 1932 (p. 32). First U. S. Surrealist show, also for Dec. 15, 1933 — a precocious schoolboy masters a new obscenity; or *Art News* for Nov. 25, 1933 or Dec. 2, 1933 — details which are Freudian and disturbing — nothing with which to crown a tired day.

³The author's collection of bibliographical material contains originals or photostats of virtually every more important comment on Dali's work, and scarcely a critic fails to mention Dali's technical artistry.

⁴According to *Life*, Jan. 1, 1945 (p. 4, 5 & 6) "to cretinize" according to Dali is "to drive everybody nuts."

and those examples are about equally divided between gifts and purchases.⁵ Many important new books on art decline to give Dali any real recognition, implying he is either beyond the scope of the work, or has become too controversial a subject to merit a place in contemporary appraisals of artistic influences.⁶ Now that Dali has virtually forsaken easel painting for a wide variety of projects in the fields of ballet,⁷ opera,⁸ portraiture,⁹ and writing,¹⁰ as well as special promotional assignments,¹¹ one may look back over the past fifteen years of his career and observe with some per-

⁵There follows an off-hand list of Museums with Dali's works. Perhaps the list is not complete. Even if it were, it would still be amazingly short.

1. Museum of Modern Art, New York City.
 - a. Persistence of Memory (oil: gift — See *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 10, 1935).
 - b. Portrait of Gala (oil: gift — See *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 12, 1937).
 - c. Imperial Violets (oil: gift).
 - d. Study of Horsemen (drwg: gift)
2. Chicago Art Institute, Chicago, Ill.
 - a. The Monsters (oil: purchase — Winterbotham Coll. See *Chicago Daily News*, Oct. 8, 1943)
3. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.
 - a. Apparition of face and fruit dish on a beach (oil)
 - b. Paranoiac-Astral Image (oil)
 - c. La Solitude (oil)
4. Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y.
 - a. Andromeda (drwg: gift)
5. Wm. Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, Mo.
 - a. Puzzle of Autumn (oil)
6. University of Southern California
 - a. Premonition of Civil War, Soft Construction with Boiled Beans: a conditional gift not actually transferred. (See *Art Digest*, Dec. 1, 1944.)
7. Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego, California
 - a. Spectre du Soir (oil)

Three Commercial Collections own Dalis, to wit:

1. International Business Machines
 - a. Enigmatic Elements in a Landscape (oil)
2. De Beers Ltd.
 - a. Aerodynamic Chair (oil)
3. Encyclopedia Britannica
 - a. Madonna (oil)

⁶For example:

1. The Language of Vision by George Kepes (Pub.: Paul Theobold, Chicago 1944)
2. The Modern Dilemma in Art by I. J. Belmont (Pub.: Harbinger House, New York 1944)

⁷Sentimental Colloquy and Mad Tristan (See Color Repros., *Vogue*, Dec. 15, 1944 (p. 33). Also *Vogue* for June 15, 1938, wherein a part of the decor for Tristan Fou was shown, proving Dali was long preoccupied with 'outside' interests.

⁸Dali projects his opera in The Author's Foreword to his recent novel, Hidden Faces, Page XVIII. See Note 10. The venture may yet prove as abortive as his 1942 intention to become "classical," for he seems to be subject to many distractions.

⁹See Knoedler's 1943 Catalog Dali Dali! or a more recent portrait of Ann L. Warner, *Harper's Bazaar*, November 1944, and compare with earlier portraits. Eg: Portrait of Emilio Terry (Repro.: *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 10, 1935, p. 21) or Portrait of Paul Eluard (Repro.: *Secret Life*, opp. p. 182).

¹⁰Hidden Faces by Salvador Dali, The Dial Press, New York, 1944. The Secret Life of Salvador Dali, The Dial Press, New York, 1942.

¹¹For example: See two page fashion spread by Dali, *Vogue*, Feb. 15, 1944, or John Frederic's ad, *Vogue*, Nov. 1, 1943. Also see Dali's illustrations for Maurice Sandoz's *Fantastic Memories, Doubleday Doran*, 1943. In addition, Dali has recently collaborated on a movie entitled Spell-bound for which he made five oil paintings and numerous drawings. See *Theater Arts* for March, 1945. (pp. 176-7); and *Town and Country*, December, 1944.

spective what he has accomplished, and wherein he will perhaps be charged with failure.

There has no doubt been some chicanery in his career, artistic and otherwise. The aura of his antics has to no small extent permeated, and perhaps to some esthetes, tainted his works.¹² But withal, his recorded dream world stands like a splendid if somewhat deprecated monument to his genius. His easel paintings of the 30s will eventually come to be regarded as immortal sign posts pointing the way out of a sloppy, hopelessly jumbled, and decadent surrealism, as well as a way out of the general impasse in which all art found itself about this time when there were no great innovators or leaders except Dali, and one or two other geniuses.

Yet Dali has always managed to stand apart from the minor movements in modern art, like a Leonardo of the age, and as such — an individualist — he is still subject to attack by the proponents of a socialized or popularized art. If these regimentalists had their way they would systematize art, claiming such a sterilizing procedure would make it readily teachable. And they would eliminate all eccentricities, irregularities and innovations from it. Since they could not account for Dali they would eliminate him by minimizing his influence and accomplishments in somewhat the following vein.

Dali will undoubtedly be called a casualty of the war, for since he left Spain and his native Catalan background, he has perhaps tended to reminisce rather than to create, has tended toward seeking the lucrative in art, rather than the verities of it. It might be charged that the novelty of his symbology ceased when he left the old world, and that since he has been in this country he has painted more like a man influenced by Salvador Dali than like Dali himself.¹³ It will be said he has merely parodied his own work, and that one by one he has prostituted the sacred symbols of his own distinctly personal surrealism to common commercial ends. It will be said that his symbols are like Frankenstein's Monster, turning against their creator. When he sits down to paint he will be likened to an old maid making Dali samplers. His works will have lost their punch, the age of his dream-whimsey will have died, he will become victimized and ridiculed by his own cosmology. The surrealist symbols he elevated to be art in the popular mind were adapted to various publicity stunts. The telephone

¹²See *Newsweek* and *Time*, March 27, 1939, on The Bonwit Teller Window Smashing Episode, or *Time* for July 13, 1936 for a description of Dali's London Lecture in a diving suit.

¹³The one or two canvases on New World Topics have fallen short; for example, see: The Poetry of America or Nativity of the New World. Latter Repro.: *Esquire*, Dec., 1942.

which he originally taught was fraught with the timeless significance of Munich will be likened to a night club ad¹⁴; the ant which he said was the delicate symbol of the jewel-like matter of our own eventual decay will become associated with a gross caricature of itself on a necktie¹⁵; the dream-like lassitude of the perfect clouds from the fruitful decade will be said to have degenerated to sharp and thinly-painted frou-frou to embellish expensive portraits.¹⁶ He will be pointed out as a man who mimicked his own surprises to the point where they no longer surprised anyone, to the point where no one will ever take his symbology or intentions seriously again.

Some critic is sure to point out before long that everything seen in Dali's most serious works is being seen again in parody form in stocking ads in *Vogue*,¹⁷ or vastly blown up on a ballet curtain,¹⁸ or even taken for a background of a musical show.¹⁹ Such reexpression of his original artistic dream surrealism is undoubtedly remunerative, but it does provide a fine target for the critic who can logically raise the question if Dali ever had anything else in mind but an ultimate commercial exploitation of his art, and if that fact having been perceived by connoisseurs has not militated against his mastership in art. Such a reuse of the established symbols will indubitably be said to be bad for his artistic reputation, for no museum will value a picture — a masterpiece — which has been parodied in a necktie pattern and advertised in *Esquire* — at least not until the necktie has been forgotten for a long time!²⁰

And yet such tactics have made Dali and his intimate personal concepts the talk of every shop girl in the land! That art should be for the masses, that the luxury of the little private madnesses and eccentricities is no longer exclusively reserved for the well-to-do, but can now be indulged in by

¹⁴Compare *The Enigma of Hitler* (Repro.: *Life*, April 17, 1939) or *The Sublime Moment* (Repro.: *Secret Life*, opp. p. 358) with *The Art of the Cinema in The Seven Lively Arts* (Repro.: *Life*, Jan. 1, 1945)

¹⁵Compare: *Daddy Long Legs of the Evening, Hope!* where subliminal ants feast on the face with *The McCurrach Organization Ad for Dali Ties*, *Esquire*, Oct. 1944 (p. 37).

¹⁶Compare the clouds in *Shades of Night Descending* or *The Bureaucrat* with clouds in *Portrait of Mrs. Charles Swift*, or *Mrs. Ortiz de Linares*. (Repro.: Knoedler Catalog, Spring 1943: Dali, Dali!)

¹⁷See Bryan Hosiery ads, *Vogue*, May 15, 1944; September 1, 1944; Oct. 15, 1944; and July 1945, and compare *Figure of Drawers*, *The Hysterical Arch*, and *Cavalier of Death*. (Repro.: Museum of Modern Art Dali Monograph, J. T. Soby, 1941.)

¹⁸See: *Vogue*, December 15, 1944, backdrops for *Sentimental Colloquy* (and *Mad Tristan* decor.). Compare former with *Illumined Pleasures*. (Repro.: Dali Monograph)

¹⁹See: *Scenery used in One Touch of Venus*, where *Ghost of Vermeer* and *Premonition of Civil War* were blown up into stage props. (Repro.: Dali Monograph)

²⁰See: *Imperial Violets*. (Repro.: Dali Monograph) and necktie designed by Dali featuring telephones. Or see: *Persistence of Memory* (Repro.: Dali Monograph) and necktie featuring soft watches. (These oils are in the Museum of Modern Art — See Note 5.) *Vogue* for July 1945 contains several articles on the Museum of Modern Art wherein Dali is conspicuously absent.

anyone to whom Dali has brought his symbols, is a matter of such fundamental and tremendous importance to the art world that its significance has barely begun to be apparent. Even the bourgeoisie puts up a feeble protest against any novelty in art, especially any novelty which hints at their own neuroticism and fear of change, by calling Dali childish and insane.²¹ It will be said in resistance to Dali's exceptional originality that such a broad concept of art as would admit his artistic antics is not really "art," but merely an immediate and shrewd merchandising of it.

Someone may also point out that Dali perhaps defeated his own purpose in his publicity stunts²² and sensational painting, for while he thereby achieved a momentary fame in *Life*²³ and *Sunday Magazine Supplements*²⁴ — fame of a rather "notorious" kind because it was among the masses — he at the same time made himself shocking and undesirable to the often ultra-conservative persons who control the purse strings of museums and so in turn the somewhat sanctimonious judgment of the director in his inner office. It is obvious that the tone of many museum collections is all too often determined by the spinsterish tastes of affluent donors behind the scenes, not the progressive student or even reasonably emancipated visitor. Many museums also have a policy of waiting until an artist's work becomes rare and expensive, and make the tacit assumption that these two facts have made him immortal, famous, or both, and hence desirable as a "public" possession. This policy, coupled with the chicanery sometimes attributed to Dali, no doubt accounts for so few of his works being in permanent museum collections. However, it will still be remarked against the artist that he counted on the somewhat sensational society people whom he paints in his portraits to extend their influence for him into the inner circles of art, while actually it is not this gala group at all that determines what is what in art.²⁵ It will therefore be said that the reason Dali is achieving such a fundamentally limited representation in the art

²¹See Letters to the Editor in *Life Magazine* which follow about four weeks after the magazine runs anything on Dali which show an almost pathetic resistance to Dali. See *Life* for Jan. 22, 1945; Oct. 30, 1944; May 8, 1939; Jan. 10, 1938.

²²See *American Weekly* for Aug. 10, 1941: Dali posing nude in an egg; Dali climbing onto a chair with legs 7 feet high mounted on turtle shells; Dali posing in bed with a Hotel St. Regis wastebasket over his head, etc.

²³See *Life* for April 7, 1941, where Dali "enchants" Caresse Crosby's former Hampton Manor, or for April 17, 1939, where he poses in shark's jaws.

²⁴See *American Weekly* for Dec. 16, 1934; Feb. 24, 1935; March 17, 1935; July 5, 1935; Aug. 10, 1941, and April 5, 1942. These articles take the painter all the way from Chants de Maldoror through his impressions of Broadway up to Dot Spreckle's love life. Or the *New York Journal American Saturday Home Magazine* for Dec. 2, 1944. Dali's Theme Song undoubtedly would go: "For he's always good copy . . ."

²⁵For example: See *Time* and *Newsweek* for April 26, 1943. (Repro.: Portraits of Dorothy Spreckles and Mrs. Harrison Williams.)

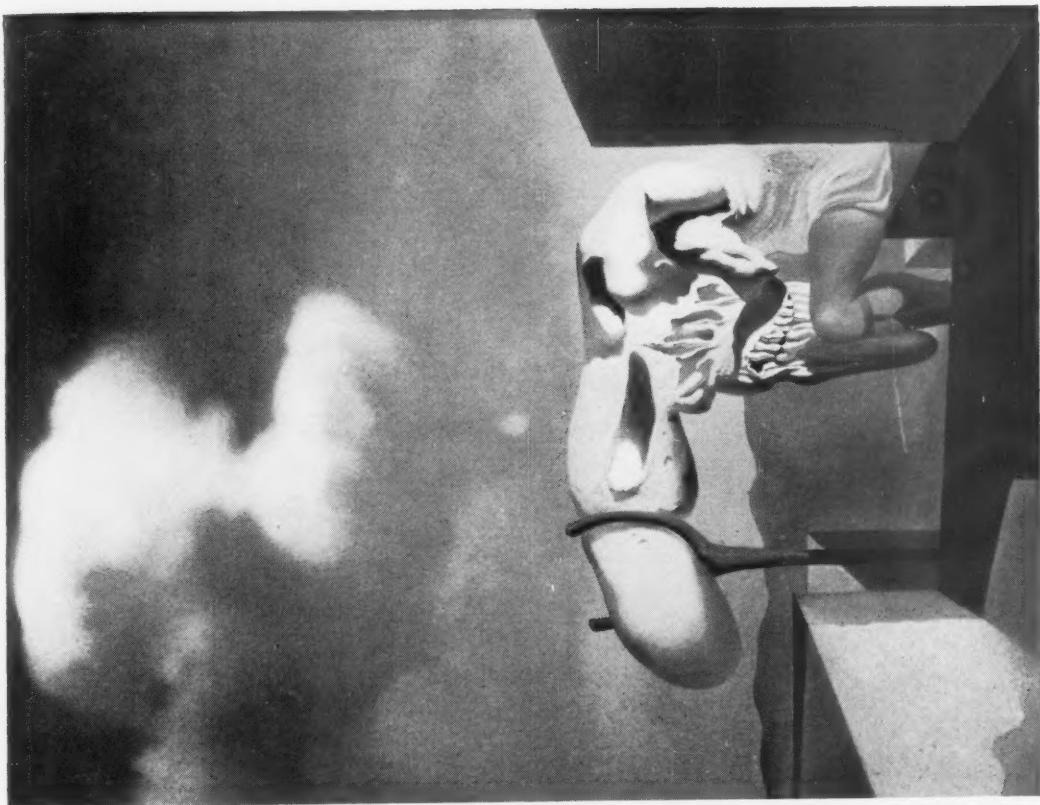


FIG. 3. DALI: AVERAGE ATMOPHEROCEPHALIC BUREAUCRAT IN THE ACT OF MILKING A CRANIAL HARP, 1933. Oil on canvas.

(For Descriptions, turn to page 124)



FIG. 2. DALI: SHADES OF NIGHT DESCENDING, 1931. Oil on canvas.

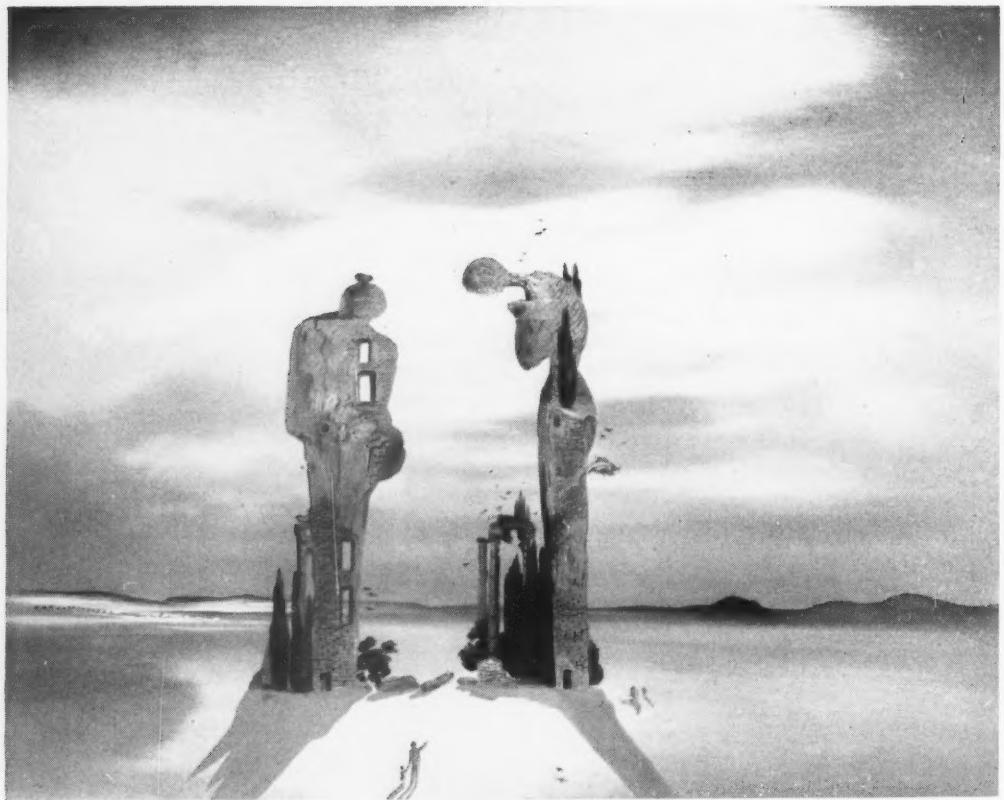


FIG. 4. DALI: ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMINISCENCE OF MILLET'S ANGELUS, NO. 2, 1934-35. Oil on panel.



FIG. 5. DALI: DADDY LONG LEGS OF THE EVENING, HOPE! 1940. Oil on canvas.

(For Descriptions, turn to page 124)

museum is that he has not really been as shrewd a merchandiser of technique as he thought he was, implying that he should have addressed himself to the real powers in the American Art World: the staunch, gray dowager, and the retired, conservative corporation director, and the museum visitor who writes indignant letters about any novelty that comes his way. To such people, the content of dreams is without a doubt a shocking memory, and nothing to be perpetuated on institutional walls!

Before long some one will undertake a survey of Dali's influence upon advertising art.²⁶ Innovators in this field where novelty is at a premium were quick to seize upon the deep perspective publicized by Dali in such pictures as *The Font* and *Shades of Night Descending*. Almost overnight the tone of the slick paper magazine ad was changed. Yet Dali's activities in this direction, while they had a far-reaching influence on American Art as well, will, however, probably be said to have lowered the value of his serious works. All the nostalgia of one of his masterpieces will be found in a garter ad in the *Saturday Evening Post*. He will be accused of bringing the lofty concepts of his art into a realm where they could not descend without cheapening their ultimate value as museum pieces. Yet on every hand we now accept ads with ridiculous dream-world juxtapositions of extraneous objects selected for their incongruity. A few years ago, before Dali, our sensibilities would have been outraged.

In literature a great many dream worlds exist which are accepted as masterpieces.²⁷ Yet in the field of painting a curious taint attaches to any picture which is the least bit experimental in its subject matter. Many "art masterpieces" are experimental, even insane, in technique, and yet they are accepted by the very conservative. But where the subject matter is not in accord with even the most drunken preconception of reality, the work is slighted even though the technique is perfection itself.

There remains one chink in Dali's armor. This is not an age of great artistic freedoms. Wherever there are purges, bannings, and bowdlerizings, radical artistic concepts like Dali's will be automatically subject to critical interpretive readings in the search by both sides for alien motives. There

²⁶See *Printer's Ink* for Dec. 3, 1943 for a beginning of such a study; also *Art & Fashion* by Marcel Vertes (Studio Publications, Inc. 1944) (Repro.: part of Dali ad from *Vogue*); and *Twenty-Third Art Directors' Annual* (Watson Guptill Publications, Inc., N. Y. 1944) p. 20. Illus.: Dali's Schiaparelli Advt.

²⁷Dali's own *Secret Life* is one of them. Others: Proust, James Joyce, and other experimental obscurantists have tried a wide variety of ideological forms that are regarded as masterpieces. Books by men like Henry Miller, however, which try to give a treatment of sex in proportion to its importance in reality have an ambiguous (often banned) position, being, like Dali's paintings, experimental in subject matter, not in form.

is no avenue of neutral gray between the black of one side and the white of the other down which an artist may walk in freedom, for if such paths were left open to the artist they would also be open to the average man whose horror of war is becoming increasingly pronounced, but whose conceptions cannot yet seem to encompass a vast zone of freedoms between various ideologies. It is too bad that an artist and his art cannot exist apart from the conflicting political movements of his times. The fact that Dali has never come out with any clear-cut statement as to his political leanings means that he and his art are both probably suspected by the party in ascendency as well as by the party being submerged. There is also some reaction against him as a result of his being a foreigner, a feeling that he has come to this country merely to cash in on it, not to become part of it. Such sentiments are just as jejune as saying that because the titles of his works are often almost facetious or without the brief dignity ordinarily attributed to 'masterpieces,' his works are not finding their way museum-ward. "The Average Atmospherocephalic Bureaucrat in the Act of Milking a Cranial Harp" is a title, which while it might distract a routine mind, nevertheless to a free mind connotes a free artist.

But in spite of all these varied potential counter-arguments, there still seems to be an ultimate destiny of some importance for Dali's works, even though that destiny may be but dimly perceived at present by professional critics who in most cases dismiss Dali as a mere clever artistic mountebank. Dali has always painted with some purpose, a far vaster and more comprehensive purpose than is found in the works of the lesser surrealists and more conventional artists of the period. One sometimes gets the feeling that the average surrealist, whose inspirations on the whole were remarkably limited and one-tracked, disowned Dali out of sheer jealousy of his manifold talent and inclusive concepts which of course enabled him to make a far better living than the small fry of the movement.²⁸ All too often such fundamental and human motivating factors are overlooked in art criticisms. One critic actually remarked in effect that Dali could not create great masterpieces while living in a swank hotel.²⁹ Such a statement

²⁸See for example *View* for June 1941, Vol. 1, No. 6 — Nicolas Calas in Anti-Surrealist Dali — I say his flies are Ersatz! Reading between the lines one sees that Dali has left the surrealists far behind.

²⁹See *Cleveland News* for July 3rd, 1943. Louise Bruner quotes Henry G. Keller, "dean of Cleveland painters": "Of Dali's ability Keller has a high opinion. He pinned a nightmare on canvas in his little painting of the drooping watches. Other men have assembled grotesque figures and called them a nightmare, but Dali added the elusiveness that the others missed." Questioned about Dali's sincerity, Keller shook his head. "A man can't live in the best hotels in the country without money. So he nailed himself to the board and keeps on producing the sensations which are expected of him. Yet when he paints society women, he does a good portrait and keeps his monkeyshines for decorating the edges."

probably tells one more about the man who made it than about Dali if one stops to think it over.

From the very beginning of his productive years Dali manifested a tremendous energy and versatility which enabled him to encompass without copying all the major aspects of surrealism as expressed in the works of minor artists of the times.³⁰ He has always been an exquisite miniaturist. Under a magnifying glass the detail of his works maintains all its precision and perfection. Works so incredibly fine and delicate, like a dream landscape, are reminiscent of reality rather than realistic. It is as though one were focusing on some memory through the wrong end of a telescope. Or again, it is as though one were studying a color negative of an actual scene. Should the topic of a Dali painting ever be presented to you in reality, it would be recognizable immediately from the "color plate" once seen in the painting.³¹ Infinite detail beyond the scope of most artists is an essential to such visions. Yet for the obtuse or slightly unimaginative person, the subject matter of a Dali canvas often acts to obscure all the classical perfection of the painting itself. Such an individual should realize that Dali does not produce a mere picture: he far transcends the commonplace reality, and snatches details from his subconscious mind which are often gruesome and fantastic, even though such details stem from classical memories of Vermeer, Leonardo or Raphael (as in *The Madonna of the Birds*). Dali's memories are probably not without conscious direction; and they are sometimes distorted in the mutation to the point where their impact ceases to be surrealist and becomes of a far more comprehensive importance to the field of art in general in perpetuating renovated or revivified twentieth century conceptions of the conventional classics. Everything else in life is being modernized, why not modernize some established conceptions? This type of classical inspiration for Dali's surrealism, however, is not to be confused with his more whimsical inspirations such as *The Ship*, wherein he begins with an ordinary color print and imposes his vision upon the original conception.³²

³⁰Like Tristram Hillier, Styrsky, Erik Olson, Oscar Dominguez, and countless other forgotten, struggling surrealists, and also men like de Chirico and Tanguy who might have influenced Dali, (and Miro and Masson who didn't).

³¹In this connection James Thrall Soby in his Dali Monograph remarks: "He called his technique 'handmade photography' Dali went as far as to give his paintings a surface similar to that of glossy photographic prints. He wished, in a word, to depict the unreal with such extreme realism that its truth and validity could no longer be questioned." (page 14)

³²The *Ship* is based upon a print by Dawson. Dali is reputed to prepare the commercial paper for his water-color by treating it with potato juice. Another example of this type of more or less whimsical interpolation of Dali's fancy is found in *The Sheep* (Repro.: *Harper's Bazaar* Dec. 1943).

Dali has given impetus to several potential or nuclear movements in art, particularly in the field of psychological art, which have not yet begun to be apparent for two reasons. First, we are too preoccupied with war and its implications to demand or require novelty in art; and second, because Dali's colossal conceit in evaluating his own potential influence on art in his Secret Life has acted to inhibit any immediate claimants to such an impertinent influence which could possibly predict its own importance in a field as vagarious as art. Nevertheless Dali himself is adept at expressing in his works all the things in life which ordinarily cannot be made verbally or pictorially explicit.³³ Since these things do not have the familiar and reassuring outlines of sanity and reality which would tend to make them acceptable (perhaps in the guise of experimental art) to the good, stolid citizen, it may be said that Dali is painting years ahead of his time. But the times are fast catching up. Our wars with all their vast contradictions, and our increasing industrial crimes against man's simple nature are generating a vast audience of psychoneurotics to whom Dali will make an increasing amount of sense.³⁴

Surrealism originally was the only means of expression available to sensitive persons, paranoiacs and other mild neurotics who could not stand the dissolutions and disillusionments of the previous postwar world. There will always have to be some terrific and often neurotic compensations for the horrible tensions and vicarious moral freedoms which are so promiscuously enjoyed during war time. These compensations previously culminated in the surrealism of the 20s, as far as art was concerned, and out of the maelstrom of compensations Dali emerged to redeem art from the slapstick and undisciplined heritage of an expressive surrealism, which was trying to reincarnate all the madness of war and its sentiments neurotically, without the benefit of cannons and machine guns. It was only natural that surrealism should stir the course of art then, as war did the course of humanity.

What will the repercussions on art be ten or fifteen years after we have done without the current hypnotic hysterics of war? When there is no more war anymore, there will be no compensating social conditions to

³³Dali can get into deep water trying to explain his symbology. See for example: *Les Nouvelles Couleurs du Sex Appeal Spectral*, *Minotaure* No. 5, 1934, p. 20-2; or *Interpretation Paranoiaque — Critique de l'Image Obsédante*, "L'Angelus de Millet," *Minotaure*, No. 1, 1933, p. 65-7, where he goes into ramifications on The Spectre of Sex Appeal, (Repro.: Dali Monograph) and Millet's Angelus (See Archaeological Reminiscence of Millet's Angelus (No. 2), Fig. 4).

³⁴See: *The Neurotic Personality of our Time* by Dr. Karen Horney (W. W. Norton & Co., 1937) or *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* by Elton Mayo (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1933). Dr. Horney states (p. 289): "Contradictions embedded in our culture are precisely the conflicts which the neurotic struggles to reconcile."



FIG. 6. DALÍ: THE MADONNA OF THE BIRDS, 1943. Watercolor.

(For Descriptions, turn to page 124)



FIG. 7. THE SHIP, 1943. Watercolor on commercial print.

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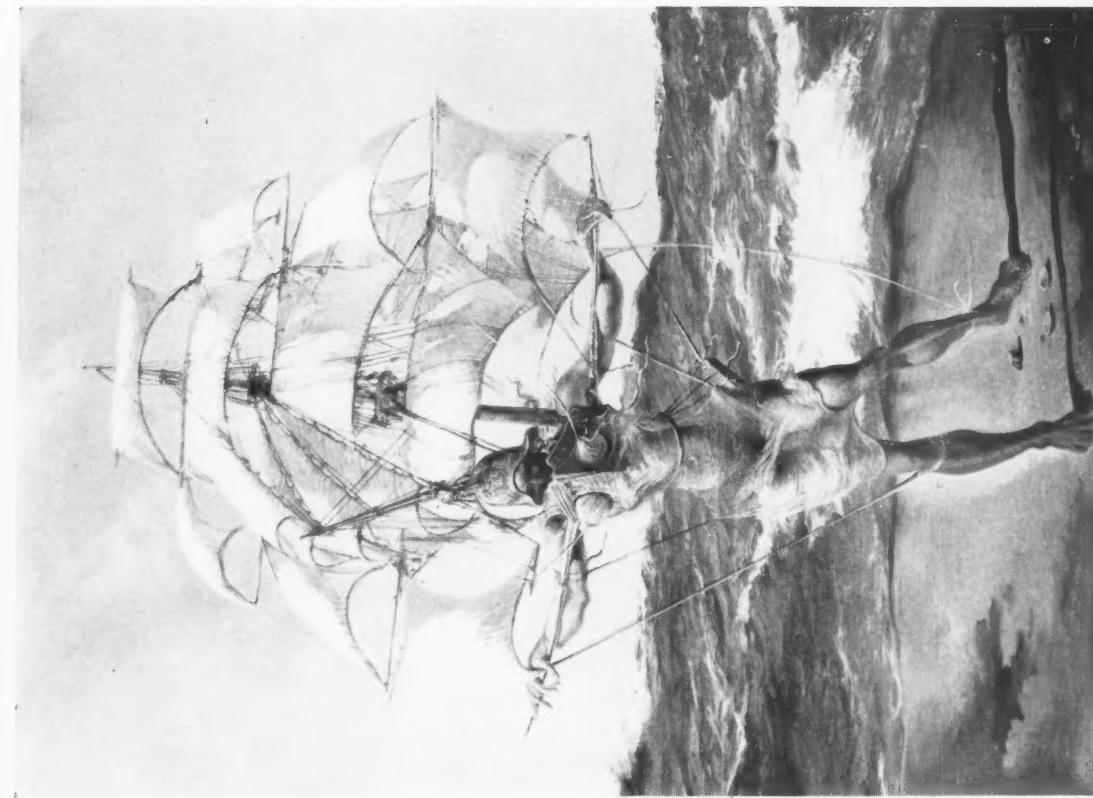


FIG. 7. THE SHIP, 1943. Watercolor on commercial print.

DESCRIPTIONS OF DALI ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG. 1. Dali: THE FONT, 1930. Oil on plywood (25" x 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ "). Dali's reaction to the rectilinear aspects of modern art is found in the "Undulant Convulsive" forms of Gaudi's "Art Noveau." The deep perspective reminiscent of de Chirico is in contrast to the parody of the transfigured host in the central chalice, and to the keys and screws from Kraft-Ebbing's case histories. The ants and the praying mantis are Dali's purely personal symbols.

Fig. 2. Dali: SHADES OF NIGHT DESCENDING, 1931. Oil on canvas (24" x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ "). This dream landscape harks back to Dali's memory of the bare Catalan countryside. The Shade of Night on the cliff wears drinking glasses or tumblers embedded in its shroud. The calm pervading this scene takes the terror out of nightfall.

Fig. 3. Dali: AVERAGE ATMOSPHEROCEPHALIC BUREAUCRAT IN THE ACT OF MILKING A CRANIAL HARP, 1933. Oil on canvas (8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "). This jewel-like miniature portrays Dali's preoccupation with cephalic deformations, harking back to a childhood experience of seeing a man with a deformed skull. A touch of classical cubism is seen in the steps, while the crutch, symbol of the universal need for (parental) support, holds up the cranial harp.

Fig. 4. Dali: ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMINISCENCE OF MILLET'S ANGELUS, No. 2, 1934-35. Oil on panel (12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ "). Dali's childhood memory of a print of Millet's Angelus, combined with a later impression of Arnold Böcklin's cypress-studded cliffs in the Metropolitan's Isle of the Dead provide the central towers which are set in a barren Catalan landscape under a fugitive moonlit sky.

Fig. 5. Dali: DADDY LONG LEGS OF THE EVENING, HOPE! 1940. Oil on canvas (16" x 20"). In its trilinear construction this picture presages Dali's intention "to become classical." The "spider" seen at evening brings good luck according to an old French peasant superstition; here evening is seen in the hues of the deflated head. The aeroplane, man's highest expression of the sexual instinct, is here disgorged by a cannon in soft form, while a Raphaelesque angel weeps.

Fig. 6. Dali: THE MADONNA OF THE BIRDS, 1943. Watercolor (24 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ "). Reminiscent of Raphael's Alba Madonna, the Virgin's features are formed by random flight of birds, while the holy infants clamber in expectation of support by the legendary arms which the imagination must supply in this picture as in life.

Fig. 7. Dali: THE SHIP. Watercolor on commercial print (25" x 18"). Here Dali's whimsy loads a mast full of sails upon a beach side figure, by painting out the ship originally present, and adding the figure and the foreground. It is impossible to tell where the print begins and Dali's additions leave off.

produce the environments which succor the relatively harmless madness of surrealism. We only need a super-reality (a Dalinian dream world) when society foists an intolerable reality upon us. Therefore the future may well see a resurgence of some type of surrealism, possibly revolving around certain elements of the Dalinian symbology.³⁵ By remaking advertising techniques Dali has already laid the ground work for the future acceptance of himself in the popular mind. The need for such an escapist cosmology as Dali's, such an interpretive madness, such an ultimate freedom for the individual mind as Dali propounds in his paintings wherein he most eloquently pleads for the right of every man to his own madness,³⁶ is engendered because even adults must have some place where they can escape robot bombs, regimentation, and indeed our very sanity which seems to lead us into war. Dali is the one artist who energetically picked art up from the post-surrealism (post war) doldrums and is carrying it over to the next "ism." He is the link between the art of postwar yesterday and the art of postwar tomorrow.

Dali constructs a heaven which is found in a capricious reality imposed however incongruously upon the elements of what for more and more people may yet prove an intolerable one. Dali teaches a super-experience one can enjoy while living, no matter how precariously, and his truths become the more apparent as one grows less able to stand the realities of what the senses actually convey. Dali's paintings will have an increasing amount of appeal to a scientific nation, for the science of humanity lags far behind the science of things; and as we become more highly industrialized we become more maladjusted, more neurotic, more in need of irrational comforts such as Dali provides.³⁷

Thus Dali's surrealism, or something stemming from it, actually may yet become one main hope for the survival of a basic artistic freedom from regimentation in the postwar era — a freedom from a cruel, rational reality. Reality may well prove to be insupportable again for sensitive people,

³⁵The best and most concrete article on Dali's symbology is James Thrall Soby's comment in The Museum of Modern Art's Dali Monograph. (The most abstruse article on the same subject is found in *The Pacific Art Review* for Winter 1942-3, Dali's Search for Heaven by S. S. Kayser, and the reader is cautioned to peruse this article with many reserves.) Dali's Secret Life (See Note 10) also explains a great deal of his symbology.

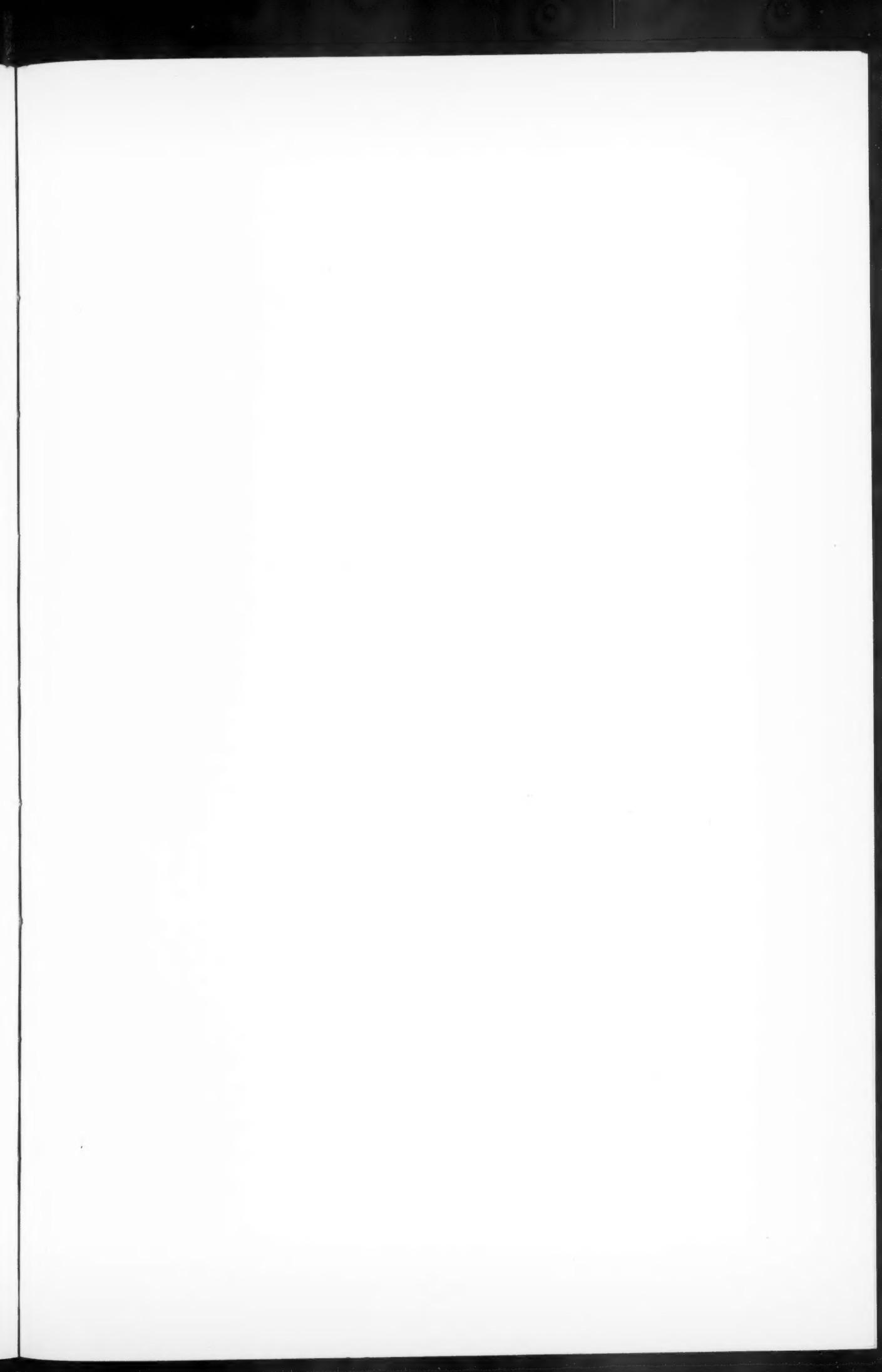
³⁶See: *Boston Evening Transcript* for June 24, 1939 where Dali pleads for his right to his own madness — to create Venus with a fish-head — but the World's Fair Fathers won't stand for it.

³⁷See: *Surrealism* by Herbert Read (Harcourt, Brace & Co., N. Y.) p. 34: "Those who have not experienced war at first hand may perhaps entertain the idea, that is to say, that even its modern intensity of horror is sanctioned by some nobler effects of heroism, of national awakening, of personal regeneration. Such a belief is a pestilential idiocy. There is in modern war neither grace nor dignity. It is mad and inconsequential in its inception; beyond the scope of human control in its conduct, a long agony which can only be ended in exhaustion."

esthetes, and others. They will have no enthusiasm for anything in art except what does not remind the beholder of the potential postwar chaos, of all the tragic disillusionments which follow the cool breath of Victory, of new W. P. A.s in art, of all the floundering disjointed souls who cannot find peace because the narcotics of war are being denied them. They will only be able to find equivalent excitement and release in the intensified experience of their imaginations in which realm Dali has been pioneering with such purpose for so long.

One may still see Dali's imaginative dream world symbology reborn, revitalized, becoming the very symbols of hope for the distraught neurotic masses of the world. By then people will probably finally realize that they have been horribly fooled by a "correct" rational reality.³⁸ They will be ready to accept the reflowering of a human, an irrational surrealism which can bring all the comfort and stimulating distractions of a magic world to them as cultural neophytes. If this should happen, the high purpose many feel inherent in Dali's darting surrealism will have more than triumphed over the charges made against it, and established the artist in the permanent annals of art. If it does not, then the socialization of art will probably have become complete, and Dali's works will remain as final (and no doubt suppressed) tributes to a dying individualism in a world of regimented and enervated art.

³⁸See: *Escape from Freedom* by Erich Fromm (Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., N. Y., 1941) p. 206: "The automatization of the individual in modern society has increased the helplessness and insecurity of the average individual. Thus he is ready to submit to new authorities which offer him security and relief from doubt."



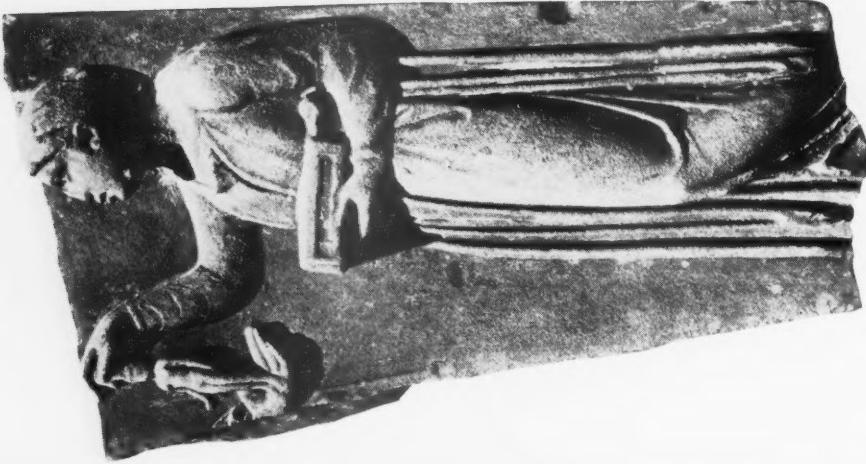


FIG. 1. ATHENIAN GRAVESTONE
Maid presenting a nude female statuette
to a deceased person.
Louvre, Paris



FIG. 2. ATHENIAN GRAVESTONE
Deceased woman holds a doll.
Musée Calvet, Avignon

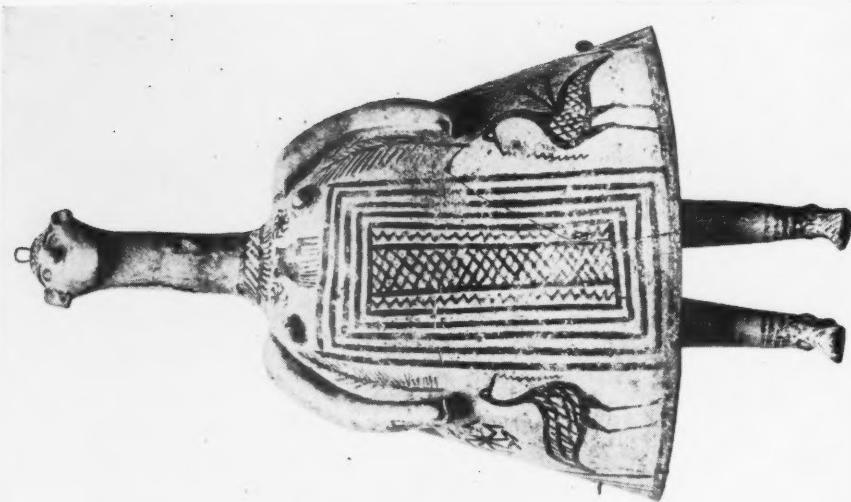


FIG. 3. ARCHAIC BOEOTIAN DOLL
Artemis as a doll.
Formerly Pavlos Kalligas Collection, Athens

OF
MICH.

APHRODITE AND ARTEMIS AS DOLLS

By GEORGE W. ELDERKIN
Princeton University

ON a fragmentary gravestone which was carved at Athens in the last decade of the fifth century is a scene of a maid presenting a nude female statuette to the deceased person, certainly a woman, of whose figure only an outstretched hand has survived (Fig. 1).¹ According to general opinion the statuette is a doll which had delighted the lady in her childhood. Although dolls appear in the Athenian grave-reliefs, the statuette in question is more likely an Aphrodite. For such interpretation there are two reasons. It is a complete figure whereas the doll in the reliefs lacks the lower parts of arms and legs (Fig. 2).² Secondly, the maid holds a rectangular box from which the statuette has been taken. Dolls apparently were not kept in boxes. The statuette is somewhat longer than its box but one may not expect of the sculptor exactness in relative dimensions. The representation of an object and its container is illustrated by the contemporary stele of Hegeso who looks at a gem while a maid stands near holding the jewel-box in which the deceased lady had kept it. The two belonged together and consequently both appear in the scene.

Confirmation of the suggestion that the rectangular box contained the statuette of the goddess is found in marriage-contracts of Egypt which mention such a statuette and its *epitheke* or box as a prominent object in the dowry of a bride.³ These contracts are of the Roman period but the custom can hardly have been an innovation of that time nor of Egypt. A late author Mark the Deacon gives us some very illuminating information about the cult of Aphrodite in the Palestinian Gaza of his day: "When we came into the city . . . there was a statue of Aphrodite . . . and the form of it was of a woman naked and having all her shame uncovered. And they of the city did honor to the statue, especially the women. . . . For they reported that it giveth answer in dreams unto those who wish to make trial of marriage."⁴ It will be noted that the nude statue of the goddess was especially worshipped by the women with reference to marriage. From this account one sees clearly the significance of a statuette of Aphrodite mentioned in the marriage-contracts.

¹Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* II, 1, pl. CLXXI; p. 188. In private possession in Athens.

²For two other examples of such dolls see Conze, *ibid.*, pl. CLIV, no. 814; CLVI, no. 815; figure 2 is his pl. CLXX.

³The *Excavations of Dura-Europos* 1931, p. 183, note 1.

⁴*Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*, trans. by G. F. Hill, pp. 69-70.

The question now arises as to whether the Athenians had the same conception of the importance of the goddess in marriage and whether some Athenian brides like those of Roman Egypt had a statuette of her in their dowries. An affirmative answer is not unreasonable in view of the source of the Athenian cult of Aphrodite. It came from Askalon which is close to Gaza where, as Mark the Deacon tells us, the goddess played an important role in marriage. The story of the arrival of the cult is told by Pausanias.⁵ The mythical king Aegeus and his sisters were without children, a misfortune which he attributed to the wrath of Aphrodite, so he introduced the worship of the goddess of the Phoenicians of Askalon. It may be safely assumed that some Phoenician customs came with her cult. Their coroplasts had made nude figurines of the goddess long before Praxiteles idealized her in his Cnidian statue.

Since the gift of the statuette to a bride preceded her marriage, the scene on the stele indicates that the recipient died shortly before her wedding. Another Athenian sepulchral motif of similar significance is found on a second gravestone (Fig. 2).⁶ The deceased woman holds a doll which she regards intently. That the incomplete figure is a doll is confirmed by a similarly abbreviated figurine in the hands of a girl of tender years on a third gravestone.⁷ Here there can be no doubt that the object is a plaything. It is however unreasonable to believe that a mature woman would be represented, at this period of Athenian art, as indulging in sentimental reminiscence of her childhood. The idea must rather suit her age. Such an idea lay in the custom of young women, who were about to be married, of dedicating their dolls either to Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter or Athena. Aphrodite bore the title of Nymphia or "Bridal" and hence was a logical recipient of the doll from a girl soon to become a bride. The nudity of female dolls probably means that they represented Aphrodite and predisposed her to favor the matrimonial chances of the girls who possessed an image of the bridal goddess. If this conjecture is correct the idea of the doll did not differ essentially from that of the statuette. The significance of the doll is enhanced by the goose which a maid holds in the relief (Fig. 2). The association of the goose with Aphrodite has been noted.⁸

The dedication of a doll representing Aphrodite to the goddess in her temple is quite as logical as the dedication there of a large statue of her. The ideas involved were really the same. The cult-image was a collective

⁵Pausanias I, 14, 7.

⁶Conze, *op. cit.*, pl. CLXX, in the museum at Avignon.

⁷Conze, *op. cit.*, pl. CLVI, no. 815.

⁸D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*,² p. 329.

invocation of the goddess whereas the dedicated doll was an individual invocation. That dolls represented deity in archaic Greek art is made clear by primitive Boeotian examples of terracotta.⁹ These certainly represent Artemis, the second of the goddesses to whom dolls were dedicated. She is identified by the heraldically arranged cranes (Fig. 3). The significance of the aquatic birds lies in their obvious reference to the title Limnatis of the goddess. It means the goddess "of the lake." The rectangular linear pattern on the dress of the doll is probably a conventionalized lake, like that in Egyptian painting, and forms a consistent whole with the aquatic birds which flank it. Verses in the Anthology tell of the dedication to Limnatis of a maiden's dolls.¹⁰ The poet's choice of this title for Artemis is thus seen to be not an innovation but a recognition of the goddess "of the lake" as the traditional recipient of the dolls of brides. Why was this goddess selected at a very early time for this function? At Athens there was a sanctuary of Dionysus *en limnaia* in which Artemis had a share. Hence she was here Limnatis "of the limne (lake)." The sanctuary has been discovered. It is not on a lake nor were the other sanctuaries of this Artemis so situated which Pausanias found in various places in Greece. The original cult of the goddess must have been located on a lake, perhaps the Lydian lake Koloë, whence it was carried to sites which were not even marshy. The heraldic arrangement of the cranes cannot have come from pure geometric decoration. It is rather Ionian and perhaps Lydian in origin. It happens that the Artemis *en limnaia* at Athens was entitled "the Reaper" which shows that she was a goddess of the grain like Demeter to whom also dolls were dedicated. To Artemis then as a goddess of fertility maidens offered their dolls. She was a goddess particularly concerned with child-birth, a function which made the offering logical.

The Boeotian dolls are decorated with the aquatic birds to indicate the habitat of the goddess. The hands of the figurine illustrated seem to reach down as if to hold the birds like the Artemis of a fragmentary ivory plaque which was discovered in her sanctuary in the district Limnaion at Sparta.¹¹ The representation of water upon the dress of the Boeotian doll does not appear here in art for the first time. In a remarkable relief of the fifteenth century discovered at Assur, a mountain deity is represented with a mountain-pattern upon the front of his garment, and on either side of him is

⁹Holleaux, *Mon. Fond. Piot I* (1894) pl. III, pp. 21ff.; *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, 1930, p. 459, figs. 5-6. In the Louvre.

¹⁰*Anth. Pal.*, VI, 280, 3.

¹¹Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, pl. 98, 3. Here too the bird is aquatic.

another whose character as a deity of the water is indicated by undulating lines.¹² Not only do the Boeotian dolls give the environment of Artemis but they seem to wear the short dress which was later characteristic of the goddess in art. If the theory is true that the Boeotian dolls represent the goddess to whom they were dedicated, then it is likely that nude dolls dedicated to Aphrodite represent her also.

The nude statuette and the nude doll of the Athenian gravestones alluded to the death of a young woman before marriage and quite probably to a marriage interrupted by death. A third such monumental allusion is the sepulchral *loutrophorus*, the vase in which at Athens the water for the bath of the bride was brought from the spring Calirrhoe. Either the actual vase of clay or a copy of it in stone or a representation of it in relief was set up at the grave of a person who died before marriage. There was another vase which served the same purpose known as the *libys*. It was a black water-pitcher. *Libys* probably meant "the Libyan" vase and may have been related to the name of an old Roman goddess of burial Libitina who was in the course of time identified with Venus. In the grove of Venus Libitina arrangements were made for funerals and lists of the dead were kept.¹³ The sepulchral character of this Venus reminds one of Aphrodite Epitymbia, "at the tomb," in Delphi. Libitina was identified in ancient times not only with Aphrodite but also with Persephone.

One may wonder how Aphrodite acquired this contact with the realm of the dead. It probably came with the cult of the goddess from the east. Her Oriental prototype Ishtar descended to hell and returned. Further among the Greeks there was a belief in marriage, after departure from this earth, with the deities of the nether kingdom.¹⁴ Sophocles represents Antigone who is about to die as saying that Hades is conducting her to Acheron whom she will wed.¹⁵ Apparently where marriage was celebrated the Bridal Aphrodite was logically present. Four nude female figures, perhaps repetitions of the goddess, are carved upon a sarcophagus from Amathus where the Phoenician goddess reigned supreme.¹⁶ The belief in marriage with deity of the underworld may have been patterned after that upon earth of a mortal with deity. Whatever the origin of it the conception that death elevated a mortal to the status of the divine is shown by those

¹²W. Andrae, *Kultrelief aus dem Brunnen des Asurtempels zu Assur*, pl. I.

¹³Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* s. v. *lucus Libitinae*.

¹⁴Several pertinent ancient passages are cited by Cook, *Zeus* II, pp. 1163-64.

¹⁵*Antigone* 815.

¹⁶Now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

sarcophagi which take the form of a miniature temple. A Samian example of the sixth century was followed at Athens by the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women in the fourth. The Orphic initiate was assured that after death he would become a god. Perhaps the allusions to marriage in the reliefs on Athenian gravestones were not alone to that frustrated by death but also to the marriage which like Antigone's was to be consummated with the god in Hades.

THE WOODWORTH PRINCIPLE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL
ANALYSIS APPLIED TO ART BY THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE

By CARL W. DREPPERD
New York City

IT might be well to begin by stating that this report has nothing to do with the aesthetic appreciation of art; nothing to do with tone, quality, genre; nothing to do with art criticism, art critics, or trends in collecting. The appreciation of art lies within the realm of the emotions, no matter what emotions are set up by the art as a motivating influence.

Many artists and near-artists have painted, and do paint, because they just must paint. They have the "itch to limn." Other painters have painted and do paint because, coupled to facility with brush and pencil, there is a natural laziness; a desire to earn a living in the easiest possible way. But, no matter why an artist has painted or does paint, and no matter what is painted, there always have been and always will be critics, professional appreciators, astute salesmen, and collectors. These, in their respective ways, are continually concerned with art. Not infrequently the reams of paper consumed in appreciative twaddle and conjecture, obscure rather than reveal to the common man the objective and subjective purpose of the painter.

About the year 1934 America was advised, informed, and enlightened concerning a type of art called American Primitive. Not a few people wondered what the devil an American primitive could be. They went to exhibits. They read discourses. They heard lectures. And many became annoyed at the pseudo-interpretive jargon then current about what was apparently nothing more or less than a collection of semi-professional por-

traits, amateur-painted portraits, and other amateur art. Some of it looked suspiciously like children's art. Some of it looked like art that later day schools of near-painters were attempting to duplicate. Occasionally a masterpiece was exhibited, but these masterpieces did not occur in sufficient numbers to warrant all of the high emotions the proponents of this art were attempting to instill in the minds of the observers and potential customers.

To be perfectly honest about it, the continuous current of claptrap circulating in and around this American primitive art had, by 1938, made me mad. It was like reading an ode to an onion, or something. Also, by 1938, I had formed an association with Dr. Matthew Chappell for the psychological analysis of advertising art, editorial material and radio programs. In our method of analysis we were using, with a measure of success, the simple principle set forth by Dr. Woodworth some few years ago. Shorn of all academic or professional phraseology, the Woodworth principle is simply this: If you know what stimulates people to do something, and know what they did about it, there stands revealed the state of mind the people had when the stimulus was applied. Similarly, if you know what people have done, and know their state of mind, you can establish the stimulus that was applied to them. Further, if you know the stimulus, and the state of mind, you can predict, with a reasonable degree of accuracy, what will be done. All of this derives from the fact that Dr. Woodworth proved the "stimulus response" principle was untenable without the introduction of the "X" factor; the state of the organism, or the state of mind of the individual, at the time the stimulus was applied.

It was not without some misgivings that we decided to apply the techniques of the laboratory to a phenomenon in the field of Americana; to the painting of hundreds of thousands of pictures by nobodies. Yet the problem posed was not at all different from the analysis of a piece of editorial material or a printed advertisement. It was simply a matter of going back 100 years or more to establish the stimulus, the state of mind, and the response.

The response was already firmly established. We looked at some 5000 pictures, painted largely by American people who had failed to sign their names. But in painting they had reproduced the objects and appurtenances and styles and fashions of the age in which the pictures were painted. Consequently their pictures could be dated with fair accuracy. Therefore, it was noted that the vast majority of the pictures were painted between

1820 and 1850, and that far more were painted between 1840 and 1850 than in the preceding twenty years.

Next, we studied the editorial content of newspapers and periodicals of that era, together with the general history of the nation in that period of time. This study exposed, again with a reasonable degree of accuracy, what the state of mind of the general public must have been.

Thus we had response and we had state of mind. We had response in the form of an almost limitless number of pictures — bad, very bad, fair, and a few of masterpiece quality. We had a state of mind that can best be characterized as "I am the equal of all others; I can do anything, or at least try to do anything, that anybody else can do; this is a free country and we all have an equal opportunity; I can start from wherever I am and reach as high as I please, and I can lift myself by my own bootstraps."

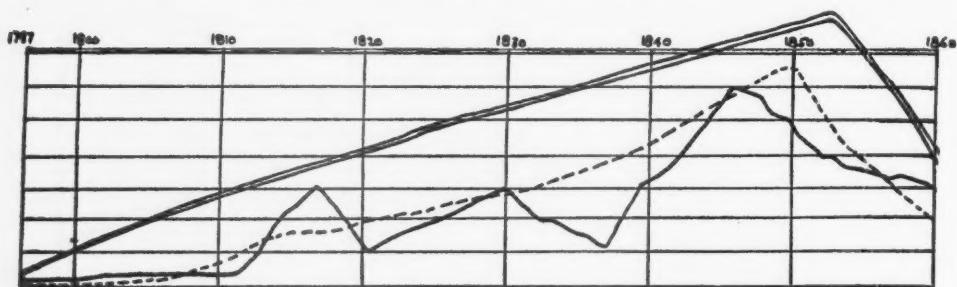
Now, what kind of a stimulus, impressed upon that state of mind, would produce the response that we have evident today in terms of an almost unlimited number of amateurishly-painted pictures, and of semi-professional painted portraits? It could only have been a readily available system of instruction that coincided exactly with the state of mind of the people — an instruction program that was en rapport with the feeling that anybody could achieve anything if they tried, and applied themselves. "Look for evidence of itinerant instruction, of art schools and classes, and above all, look for printed instruction in the form of cheap books and pamphlets for the people."

That's what we looked for, and that is what we found. We found more evidence of itinerant instruction, more evidence of semi-permanent art schools and more evidence of art instruction books than we believed possible within the period we had studied. The record of itinerant art instruction, discovered by a close scanning of local newspapers from Boston through to Pittsburgh and Detroit, and from the Canadian border to Charleston, South Carolina, puts the modern lecture bureau to shame. We found these instruction opportunities, whether sparked by one man or a group of instructors, appealing to the common man of America, to his wife, to his parents, and to his children. They literally screamed, "Anybody can paint." And as a matter of fact, anybody and everybody became their patrons.

But it was in the volume of instruction books that the great surprise came. So many were published, at prices ranging from 12½ cents to \$25,

that only the extremely indigent had to do without if they had the urge to draw or paint. Our research in the field of art instruction book publication has actually bewildered many accomplished, seasoned scholars and librarians. As this is written, the New York Public Library is preparing to publish an annotated bibliographic checklist of the American art instruction books, of which over 100 have been discovered or rediscovered in the past five years.

The rough chart which accompanies this story of analysis applied to early American amateur art, covers the period 1787-1860. The line of dashes represents the frequency of art school and art class advertising in



American newspapers. The solid line indicates the rise and fall of art instruction book publication. The double line indicates the rise and fall of amateur and semi-professional art production in America.

Not until a comprehensive tabulation of art and drawing school and class advertising in every newspaper between the years 1800 and 1850 is accomplished, and not until a comprehensive tabulation of every surviving example of amateur and semi-professional art of the same period has been made, can this chart be projected against an actuality. Experience, however, has proved time and again that a cross-section chart such as this, in which only instruction book publication data as represented is substantially complete, nonetheless foreshadows the over-all results. This is to say that the chart can be used as indicative of the national pattern, even though the national pattern is not yet available as a fact. The chart is a projection of a sample, exposed by analysis. The sample is a cross-section of the whole. The chart, then, is a projection of the little into the big.

The techniques of analysis here considered have other possible applications in the world of American art. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the works of individual artists can be studied in terms of the "stimulus-state of mind-response" principle. In the work of John Singleton Copley,

for example, there is evidence of a movement from American colonial virility and independence to sophistication, which indicates both a change in the stimulus (natural environment) and a change in the state of mind of the painter. Even if nothing now were known of the man, his life history, and his movements, his work alone, viewed over a period of years, shows that he was subjected to varying environmental pressures and social stimuli. Analysis of the works of other artists, whose movements are not so well-known and tabulated as those of Copley can be made, and the pattern of their likely movement established.

The quality of work done by a native-born American artist is bound to reflect, to a major degree, the state of mind generated by living in America and the stimulus that colonial America, as an environment, was bound to impress upon that state of mind. Virility, forthrightness, simplicity, and freedom from many trammels, are bound to be there just as they are bound to be reflected in the work of an American writer, the thinking of an American statesman, or the ideas of an American politician of the same era.

The first book mentioning American art by the people was, of course, not an American book. It was the work of Pavel Svin'in, a Russian diplomat and artist who was a member of the Russian Mission to the United States, 1811-13. The book was published at St. Petersburg and Svin'in's comments remained buried in the book until comparatively recent years. It is, however, significant that Svin'in was impressed by the fact that art instruction had already been made a part of the curricula of American schools. Further, he commented that since in America education was for everyone, he expected this to become a nation of artists.

These same techniques of analysis, applied to art anywhere, will enable the research worker in the field of art to find new significances in facts already known. The reason why any nation finding itself, and establishing its place in the world, enjoys a resurgence of art by the people is, upon analysis, revealed as a highly significant fact and not merely as a fact. Therefore, we can expect, within the next ten years, a movement of art by the people of the Soviet Republics. The realization of victory and of forward movement in world affairs will be reflected in more than cheering and more than building new factories and setting up new distribution methods. It will be reflected in "an itch to limn" on the part of the Russian people. How they paint and what they will paint is one thing. Why they will paint is the thing that should concern the research worker in the field of art. They will paint because they just have to find an expres-

sion for the stimulus that is being impressed upon their new state of mind.

The chief contribution that laboratory analysis techniques bring to any study of Americana is the removal of guesswork when dealing with causes. Knowing the response of a painter in terms of the pictures painted is more than knowledge about one painter. It is also a contribution to the general knowledge of the state of the nation at the time he was painting. When we know enough about a generous sample of people, we know a ponderable something about all people. One thing seldom considered by the professional critic and the professional appreciators of American art, is the almost universal desire to get ahead that was motivating the American people during every decade of the 19th century. It is one thing that visitors commented upon time after time. Our scenery, our transportation systems, our cities, and the desire to get ahead as reflected in our people, is what you read about in Mrs. Trollope, Captain Hall, and all other essay-writing visitors to these shores.

There are extant a number of diaries and personal histories which, while dealing only with the lives of single individuals, are reflections of what was happening everywhere in America. Consider the pack-a-back peddler from Vermont who took half a dozen lessons in silhouette cutting and added that art to his bag of goods. He did so well at silhouette cutting that he took another half dozen lessons in miniature painting. Then he painted miniatures, cut silhouettes and peddled odds and ends. Next he took half a dozen lessons in portrait painting. Then he started giving drawing and painting lessons in towns and villages. Finally, he was earning \$8000 a year. Then he went to England to study art as his life's work.

Similar occurrences are to be found in the life history of coach painters, fire engine painters and sign painters, and in the lives of glass painters, windowshade painters and stencil makers. They, together with thousands of amateurs, painted and painted and painted. They formed the vast pool out of which came masterpieces by nobodies, and out of which came real masters whose names are now hallowed in the world of American art.

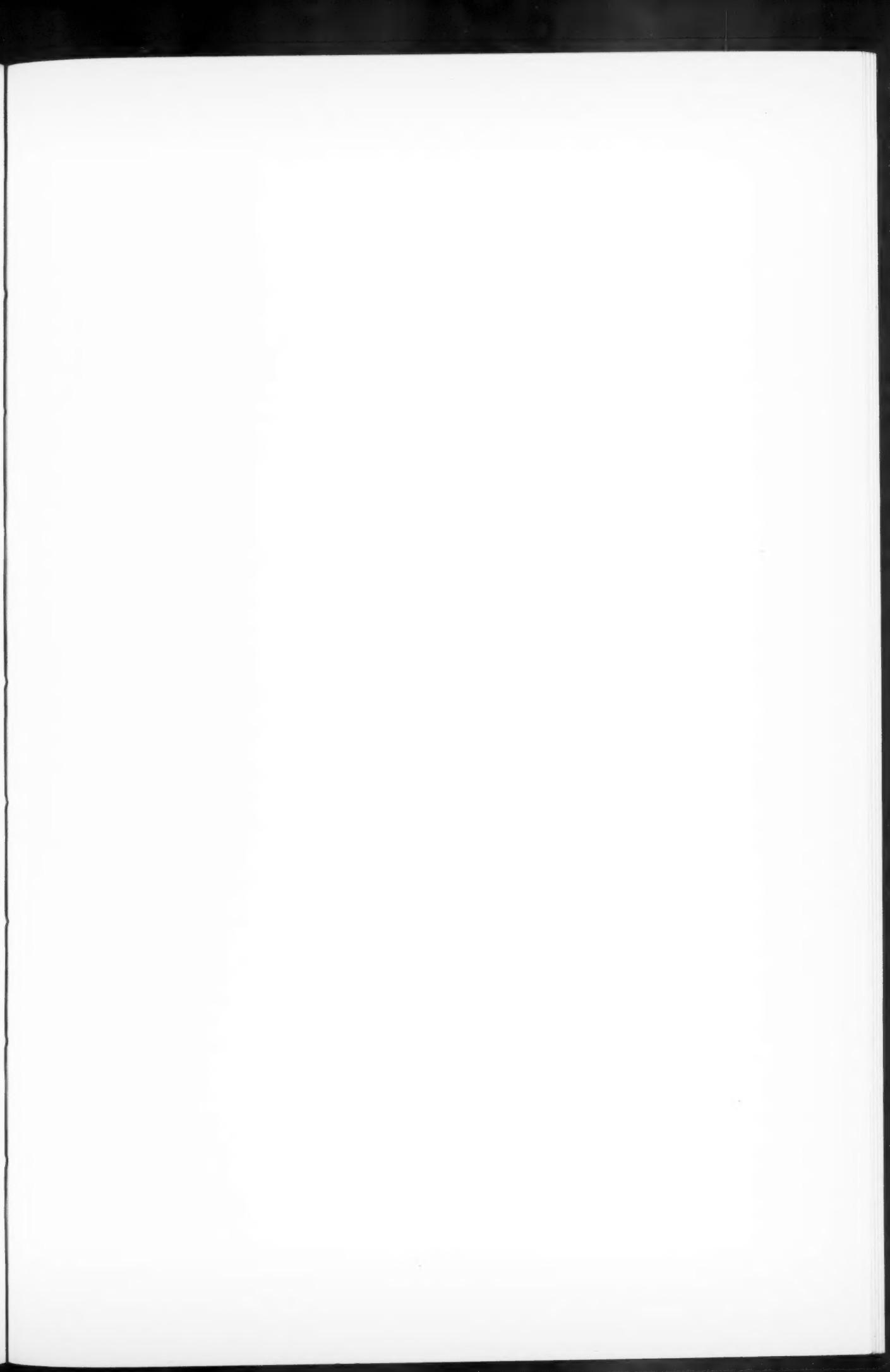


FIG. 2. WILLIAM ZORACH: CHRIST
Museum of Modern Art, New York

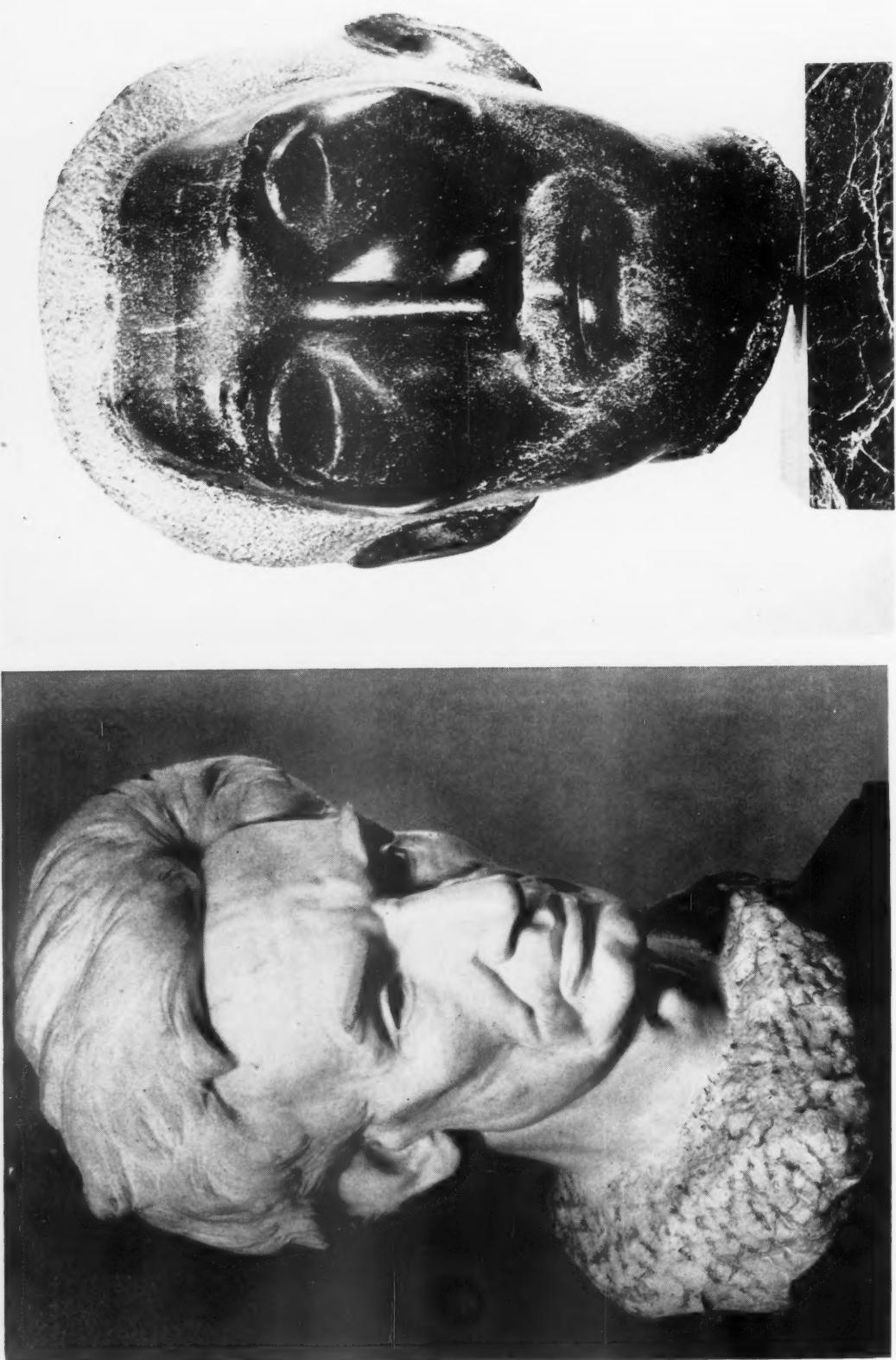


FIG. 1. G. G. BARNARD: ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A PARALLEL BETWEEN LATE ROMAN AND MODERN SCULPTURE

By VALENTINE MULLER
Bryn Mawr College

THE last decades have been very valuable for the student of the evolution of the arts, because decisive and fundamental changes have taken place. It has been a development in a unilateral direction, for instance in progressive naturalism, as has been normal many times; but a complete transformation into a style of opposite character has occurred. To find parallels to such a process in other periods is, therefore, interesting to scholars who study the whole development of the arts of mankind to see whether there are any recurrent principles in this development. We select at present a parallel between modern and late Roman art. We say at once that the modern development is very complex and full of divers trends so that it appears rather confusing at least to the contemporary spectator; but we feel entitled to select one trend which is very conspicuous; furthermore, we claim not complete, but partial parallelism only.

We choose as two characteristic examples of the modern development the head of Abraham Lincoln by G. G. Barnard in the Metropolitan Museum made about 1919 and the head of Christ by William Zorach in the Museum of Modern Art finished in 1940. The head of Lincoln is 'impressionistic.' It shows in the most naturalistic manner the rendering of the bony structure with the cover of flesh and skin in all of its minute details of depressions and wrinkles. Notice the protruding jawbones with the hollows underneath and the many folds around the mouth. At the same time the 'impressionistic' rendering of the surface, especially of the hair and the base, takes away all harshness and sharpness and produces an airy play of light and shade. The three-quarter view of the photograph is very appropriate for such a fleeting impression of a person represented in his humanity. The head of Christ is shown in front — that is, in a position of permanence — which conveys the eternal value of Christ. Whereas the artist of the head of Lincoln has tried to give the stone the appearance of life, the quality of the material stone as such is preserved in the head of Christ; we feel that the forms of life have been transformed into stone in order to be preserved for ever. The anatomical structure is by no means neglected, yet we see a very solid and hard block before us which once more conveys the idea of everlastingness. The rendering of the surface is simpli-

fied; there are no wrinkles and small details, but instead large planes fusing into one another. The hair fits the skull like a close cap; the beard is closely cropped and is contrasted like the hair in its rough texture to the polished flesh. The look is fixed in one direction, intense, and the expression as a whole shows calmness and serenity, but also great earnestness and the traces of human suffering.

We come to Roman art. A superb head in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston can be compared to the head Lincoln. It is of terracotta and dates from about the middle of the first century B.C. We see the same naturalistic tendency to reproduce all the actual features of life in a rather photographic manner. The technique is sketchy and can be called impressionistic. Notice the modelling of the eyes and their surroundings and of the hair. We get the picture of a highly intellectual and sensitive personality in a fleeting moment of his life. This instantaneousness has disappeared in the bronze head of Augustus. There is more solidity, calmness and rest; yet the minute and realistic rendering of the natural forms has been retained. Look at the careful representation of the hair, the eyebrows, the mouth. The forceful personality of the founder of the Roman Empire is expressed; however he is not idealized as a ruler, superior to all his subjects, but remains a human being with all his earthly qualities.

We cannot in this context follow the development of Roman portraiture step by step, but must leap over to the middle of the third century where we find as a representative head that of the emperor Decius. The Roman empire was in a period of tremendous crisis, threatened by Barbarians from outside, torn by internal strife and near economic collapse. Emperors followed each other in quick succession; of twenty-six one only escaped violent death. The wildness of the times is well mirrored in the agitated style depicting this forceful and energetic personality. The anatomy is still very well rendered, but some forms are sharply accentuated so that they dominate the impression, for instance the horizontal folds on the forehead, the vertical nose with the deep depression above it, the deep curves on either side of the mouth. Especially the expression of the eyes has been intensified; pupil and iris are carved and produce a piercing and penetrating look which, however, seems to go to some indefinite goal; a veil of searching and hopelessness lies over the face in spite of the energy displayed. Notice the rendering of the short hair and beard which frame the smooth parts of the face. The same contrast is shown in the head of Gallienus although the hair is longer. But a change in other features is discernible. The great



FIG. 3. PORTRAIT OF A ROMAN
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



FIG. 4. AUGUSTUS
Vatican, Rome

FIG. 6. EMPEROR GALLIENUS
Museo Torlonia, Rome



FIG. 5. EMPEROR DECIUS
Capitoline Museum, Rome

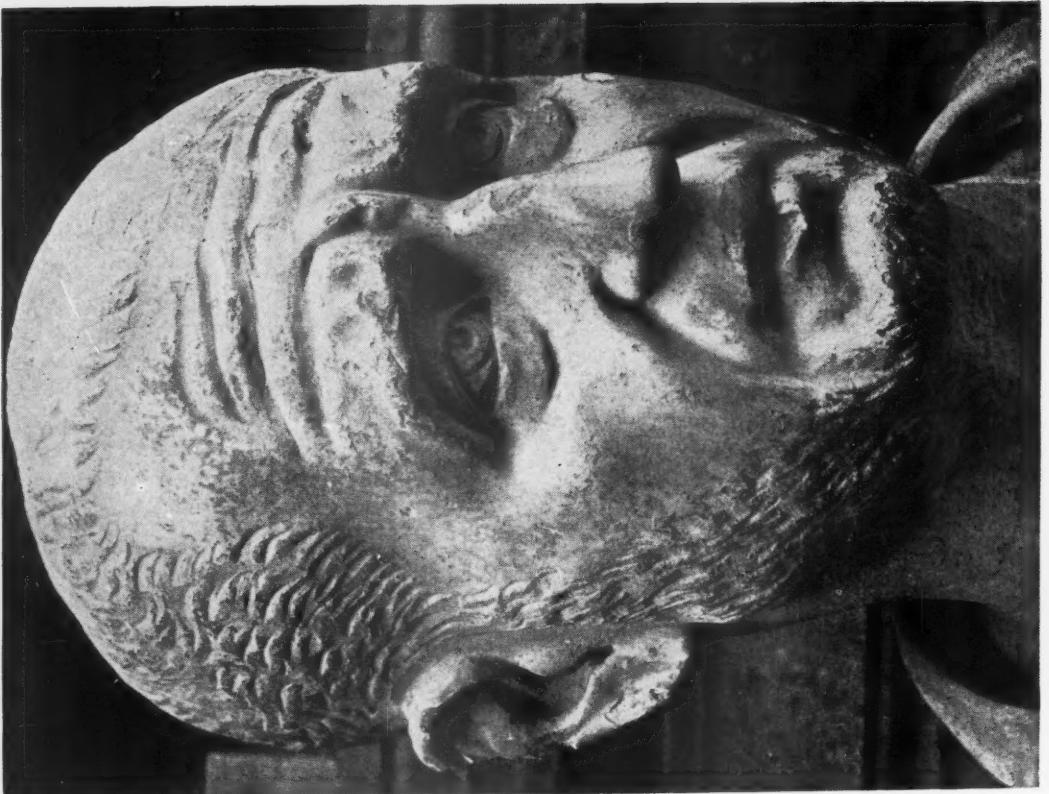




FIG. 7. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT
Museo dei Conservatori, Rome

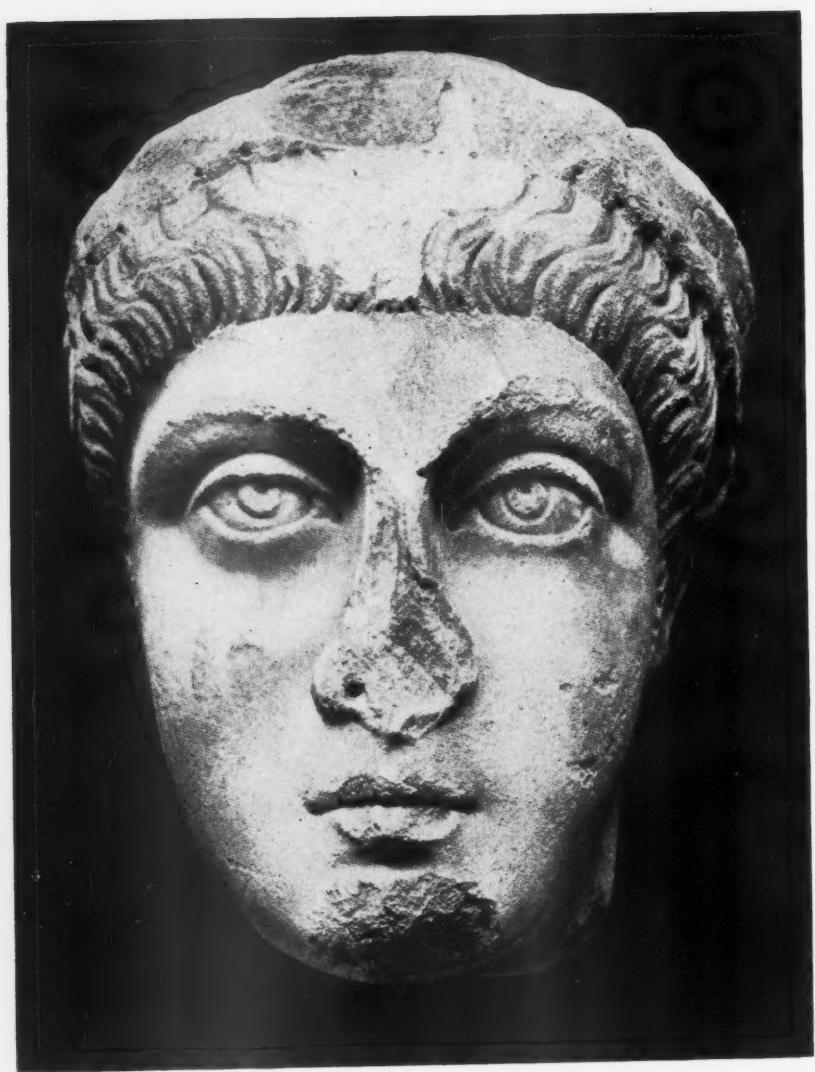


FIG. 8. ROMAN EMPEROR ARCADIUS
Staatliche Museum, Berlin

agitation has disappeared. The head looks as if arrested in its movement and fixed in one direction. The deeply furrowed face as seen in the Decius has been smoothed off and has become calmer and more uniform. Mouth and eyes are sharply carved and appear like slits on the hard and solid surface of a massive block. The stoniness of the material exerts itself so that a kind of petrification becomes apparent. The expression of the eyes has changed; the upper lid overlaps the pupil slightly; the look goes up as if searching for help and comfort from some supernatural power in heaven. A slight restlessness and tension is thus left in the face. The religious movement of that time is well reflected in art.

In the colossal head of Constantine I, sculptured about 330 A. D., a new monumentality has been achieved. Any tension has disappeared and a calm self-assuredness has been reached. The Roman empire has been restored and consolidated anew. The new faith has given new strength and inner peace and produced the feeling that a new and better world has arisen. The emperor is the rock on which the world is built. The forms are simple; large and uniform planes are dominant and a solid structure of lines, produced by the eyes, nose and mouth, holds them in a firm position. The hair forms a strong closing frame on top; its rendering shows a slightly ornamentalizing tendency which becomes likewise apparent in the symmetrical frontality of the whole face. The eyes are especially large and accentuated. They are staring above the earthly world into a transcendental realm which rules the world with absolute power and gives it security. The emperor is not represented any longer as a human being like Augustus, but as the vicar of god on earth whose absolute master he is. A head probably representing the emperor Arcadius who died in 408 A. D. shows the later development. The simplification and ornamentalization has increased. The forehead is an absolutely smooth plane and the cheeks are modelled to the bare necessity of representing human forms so that the face appears rather flat. The solid massivity of the block of stone is striking. The lids are more geometric than organic. The transcendental stare is still there, if not even intensified. The whole face looks much more abstract and petrified than that of Constantin. Theology now rules the world.

It is obvious that the modern head of Christ shows a relationship with the Roman heads of the fourth century. We see the same simplicity and monumentality and we feel a similar calmness and lasting restfulness. The massive solidity and the appearance of the strong quality of the material

are likewise related. If we follow the outline of hair and beard around the face of Christ, if we see the frame produced by eyes, the nose and the mouth and the slight lengthening of the whole face, we notice an ornamental tendency even in the modern work. The abstraction does not go so far as in the head of Arcadius', but we know that other modern sculptures go much farther in this respect. One difference between modern and Roman portraits is striking, however; the transcendental expression of the eyes is entirely lacking in the modern head. The modern sculptor represents Christ as a human being, although one of supreme quality and value, whereas the Roman emperor is considered as a link between ours and a transcendental world. Nevertheless we feel justified in claiming a partial parallelism between the imperial Roman and the modern development in art, namely from naturalism to abstraction and from instantaneousness to monumentality, to express it in a few words. The modern development, however, was much more rapid than the Roman one which took about four hundred years. If the thesis is correct that the arts reflect the mentality of the times, we should find parallelisms also in the other fields of civilization — that is, in the social, political, religious and other fields. We think there are such parallels.

A DRAWING BY TITIAN

BY HANS TIETZE
New York City

IN the world of humanistics a "definite book" is not an end, but a beginning. One who has thoroughly penetrated a matter may be permitted, and is in fact bound, to have a fuller knowledge of its difficulties than anybody else. Having made himself master of the knowledge available at the moment he is humbled by its inadequacy. In this sense, our recently published catalogue of Venetian drawings of the Renaissance which we hope will become, and remain for a reasonable period, the foundation of studies in this specific field is not for us a completed file, but a challenge to continue our investigations. Their visible result as laid down in the book is an insight into the lack of scientific certainty as to the drawings of almost all the great masters in question. For this disconcerting price, however, an intimate knowledge of these artists' drawing habits has been gained.

Characteristics, even now still hard to describe in scholarly terminology, have become familiar through a close acquaintance of many years as do the individual features of personal friends.

These preliminary remarks are meant to emphasize from the very start that our recent attribution to Titian of the outstanding drawing here reproduced is based on our general interpretation of Titian rather than on specific features typical of him. Or, perhaps more exactly, that the various arguments which we will offer in favor of our attribution were gathered only after we had reached intuitive certainty of the identification. This emphasis made on induction only afterwards corroborated by a deductive approach has, incidentally, been described as the normal procedure of connoisseurship by the most prominent connoisseur of our time, Max Julius Friedländer. A more detailed description of our train of thought when studying the drawing may still better clarify our viewpoint. The drawing, imposing by its dimensions alone — $12\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches — impressed us at a glimpse by two characteristics: the effort toward classical interpretation, and the decided Cinquecento style. The latter had certainly been noticed by an earlier owner of the drawing who inscribed it Andrea del Sarto. (The collector's mark which is missing in Lugt's Marques de Collections is that of Lord Dalhousie.) This suggestion can easily be rejected, Andrea's handwriting, as a painter and as a draftsman as well, being perhaps known better than that of any of his contemporaries. Even the technique of our drawing — black chalk on natural blue, so-called Venetian paper — excludes Andrea who in his search for picturesque effects clung to red chalk as the most adequate in the Florentine tradition. A checking over and gradual elimination of classicists of various origins and periods definitely narrowed the field of possibilities down to the Venetian High Renaissance. Here indeed, as frequently noticed and contrasted with the specific Florentine or Roman brand of Classicism, relation to classic antiquity assumed the character of objectivity, aloofness and purity expressed in our drawing.

These trends reached their apex in Venetian sculpture early in the XVIth century, in the cold and pure creations of Andrea Riccio and Tullio Lombardo whose avowed classicism found a paradoxical corollary in Venetian Cinquecento forgeries of classic antiquity. We were for a while tempted to look for the author of the drawing among that circle of fanatical worshippers of antiquity who, like Pirogoteles, went so far as to Hellenize their names. The main objection against such a theory, inci-

dentially hardly open to discussion since no drawings of any kind by these masters are known, is that the handwriting is not a sculptor's but a painter's. Never has a sculptor obtained, or even sought, such delicacy of modeling, such softness in rendering flesh, hair or draperies.

This is certainly the drawing of a painter. But may it be inspired, or even copied from, a work of sculpture? The general character of the woman's head seems to point to Greek art of the fourth century B.C. Originals of this school abounded in the Grimani collection which later passed into the property of the Venetian state; but it cannot be proved that any of the works in question existed in Venice at the supposed time of origin of the drawing, nor does any of them resemble it strikingly. Moreover certain details are by no means compatible with an antique model: neither the veil or light drapery falling over the shoulder, nor the relation of the child's to the woman's head are classic. If a Greek head lies behind the drawing it is transposed into a new essence. A remote reminiscence of classic beauty lingers over the head of the woman, but the borrowed features have become the personal type of a later artist.

This artist is Titian, and the type occurs regularly in his works which nowadays are placed in the years 1512 to '15. The juxtaposition of the head of Salome (from the painting in the Doria Gallery, Rome) relieves us of the tedium of detailed comparison. The head of the *Young Woman at Her Toilet*, in the Louvre, of the *Vanity* in Munich, of the *Gipsy Madonna* in Vienna, of *Flora* in the Uffizi, of *Venus* in the *Sacred and Profane Love* would have served the same purpose. There are even a few stragglers from the succeeding years. In all of them we find the same structure and many identical details; the eyes, brows, nose, mouth and chin display a decided family likeness.

The child's head does not seem to fit into this family whose ancestress was a Greek goddess. It, on the contrary, originates in an entirely different circle to which the Quattrocento masters contributed their angels and Christ children. This pagan mother with a Christian child to our feeling, presents no artistic unity. It would be difficult to imagine a group in which just this relation between the two heads would be natural; neither a Madonna embracing the Child, nor one holding Him in her arms or in her lap would present this nearness and this angle. Two studies originating in different artistic layers seem to be combined. Titian drew the female head, scarcely from direct contact with a sculptural model, but simply presenting his ideal type, and later filled the space left empty, by adding a



FIG. 1. DETAIL FROM TITIAN'S SALOMÉ
Doria Collection, Rome



FIG. 2. DETAIL FROM TITIAN'S PESARO MADONNA
Frari Church, Venice



FIG. 3. PALMA VECCHIO: FEMALE HEAD
Black chalk drawing.
Louvre, Paris



FIG. 4. TITIAN: MOTHER AND CHILD. Black chalk drawing.
American Private Collection

child's head to test the combination of the two and to round out a possible composition. The dark foil at the left and the multiple outlines of the head give the impression of an addition to a self-contained production. The head in itself is by no means unfamiliar in Titian's work. If we choose for comparison that of the Christ Child in the Madonna of the Pesaro Family, of 1519 to '23, the idea is less to suggest a definite date than to show one example which can easily be brought into a corresponding and similarly foreshortened posture.

In our catalogue of the Venetian drawings we have repeatedly expressed our distrust of drawing attributions based solely on paintings, and not on drawings of the artist under study. In our present case we are prevented from following our own prescription by the scarcity of the available material. There are very few drawings by Titian, and they are distributed over an extremely long life and among the most heterogeneous techniques and artistic tasks. Among the twoscore authentic drawings accepted by ourselves and by other experts — though the accepted ones are not identical in all lists — there are hardly any truly suited for comparison. No study of a single female head; very few black chalk drawings from the early period in which we propose to place the drawing here published. The nearest in date would be the study of Saint Peter in the Assumption of the Virgin, in the British Museum (Tietze no. 1929). The only comparable detail, the way in which the drapery is drawn, is certainly somewhat related. The rendering of the draperies — with long drawn folds in which the shadows gather — is still more similar in the study of Saint Bernard in the Gritti Votive Painting, in the Uffizi (Tietze no. 1904). On the other hand, the study of a nude woman in the Frants Koenigs Collection, Haarlem, (Tietze no. 1920) is so different in scope and so exceptional within Titian's oeuvre that it scarcely allows any conclusions. The same holds good of the *Warrior on Horseback*, in the Uffizi (Tietze no. 1908). The utmost we can claim is that they do not rule out our attribution.

In view of such a predominantly negative result of our investigations we must also take Titian's contemporaries into consideration. After all he had no monopoly on this female type, and in fact Palma Vecchio's young women come rather close to it in the years in which the two artists were in contact. Fortunately, for this point we have a drawing very suitable for comparison. Palma's *Female Head*, in the Louvre (Tietze no. 1269), likewise drawn in black chalk on blue paper and like the one under discussion evidently an effort to penetrate a piece of plastic life with utmost

intensity, should be the next of kin. It reveals, on the contrary, a fundamentally different approach and an inferiority of quality which is one of essence rather than simply of grade. Palma's *Female Head* is the analysis of an individual model; the Titian drawing is an effort to develop an individual case into an ideal type.

This characterization might be used as a definition of Titian's artistic aims in general. To lift the individual to the typical is his goal as a portraitist, as a painter of historical subjects, as an interpreter of nature in landscape. The same principles determine his attitude towards antiquity. He studied its venerable remnants not to learn from them the secret of individual forms as the Florentine did, but to cast them into ideal types. When describing Titian's method of studying the works of classic sculpture Ridolfi concludes: "ma egli ebbe questo avvedimento di ridur le cose tutte con buona via al naturale, in maniera, che non vi appare l'imitatione: he, however, had the skill to transpose all these things by good methods into natural forms so that no imitation transpires." This is an excellent characterization of the masterly drawing discussed in this article.

I. J. H. BRADLEY, PORTRAIT PAINTER

BY JEAN LIPMAN
Cannondale, Connecticut

OUR portraits signed by Bradley make it possible to reconstruct his achievement as our most versatile primitive limner, and to rescue from anonymity forty-five interesting portraits heretofore labeled simply American Primitive, early nineteenth century. Among these are a number of highly prized paintings in many notable collections, and the group of remarkably decorative portraits painted in Kent, Connecticut which have been known as the work of the "Kent Limner" and which have been published several times.

The signed portraits (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5) are the key pictures for a determination of the essentials of Bradley's style and his attitude toward the art of portraiture. It is clear at a glance that we are dealing with no mere face painter, but a highly talented artist, sensitive, possessed of great feeling for design, independent, original, and versatile. Bradley's liking for variety is

evinced even in his signatures. The Cellist in the Phillips Memorial Gallery, one of the outstanding examples of American primitive portraiture, is signed twice, "I. Bradley Deli" Dated 1832" and "I. J. H. Bradley 1832." The Content couple are each signed at the lower right "I. Bradley 1833" and the Boy on Empire Sofa is signed at the lower right "By J. Bradley. 128 Spring Street." More important, these portraits vary so widely in type that the differences are more strikingly apparent than the basic stylistic similarities which, without the signatures, might easily have been overlooked.

Bradley's highly individualized style is however the clear common denominator for the four signed portraits and the large group of additional portraits here attributed to him. This style is distinguished by incisive drawing, clear color and sharp tonal pattern. The sitter presents a crisp silhouette within which one is made constantly aware of the artist's liking for decorative linear detail. Bradley characteristically portrays his subjects with concrete defining attributes, a child with a dog, a musician with his instrument, a gentleman with a cane, ladies holding a rose or a book or a handkerchief. He is fond of lettering names or dates within the picture — on a letter, a slate or a newspaper. The poses are typically formal, the faces highly individualized, the clothing elaborately detailed. The "setting" is most often a decorated Hitchcock chair or a red upholstered mahogany sofa. The background is invariably taupe or brown. The elaborate lacy caps of the ladies, the peculiarly posed hands, the treatment of the highlights, and many other details are so consistent in Bradley's portraits as to appear like trademarks of his work. Bradley had an individual style and a dozen mannerisms which add up to make his portraits quite easy to identify — which is fortunate for he evidently signed very few of them.

From the body of his work now assembled we can draw a few conclusions about where and when and how Bradley worked.

He probably had some sort of painting headquarters in New York City, at 128 Spring Street as noted in the Boy on Empire Sofa portrait. From there we may conclude that he followed an itinerant route into New York and Connecticut. With almost no exceptions his sitters were New York and Connecticut people; the few from other states may well have been painted in Bradley's city rooms while on a visit to New York. His subjects included all types — doctors, ministers, musicians, business men, housewives, children. While most of them represented ordinary American families, the Vanderbilts, Pratts, De Witts, Ten Eycks, and other notables were also among his patrons (see check list). Bradley must have made an important

name for himself as a portrait painter in his day, and the fact that forty-nine of his portraits can be listed implies a large total production.

Bradley's entire *oeuvre* seems to have been concentrated within one decade, from the early 1830's to the early 1840's. Within this brief period, however, the artist developed rapidly from an entirely primitive to an almost academic approach to portraiture. As we look at the assembled photographs of his portraits we become aware of three distinct groups. The largest number may be dated in the early and mid-thirties, a second group in the late thirties and a few around 1840. This somewhat arbitrary dating, based on the author's observation of a consistent stylistic evolution, has been adopted in the text and set down in the check list, but must be considered tentative only, with emphasis on the *circa!* If the reader wishes, these dates may be ignored and the Bradley portraits, with the exception of the few dated ones, placed as c. 1830-40 — which is sure to be quite accurate.

Let us now see how plausibly we can reconstruct Bradley's methods of work and the development of his technique as a portrait painter. It seems probable that the earlier portraits (c. 1832-36), including all four of the signed pieces, were painted at the artist's headquarters at 128 Spring Street in New York. The artist evidently worked as an itinerant at this time too, for one of the portraits done in Rhinebeck, New York is dated 1832 and several of the Kent group are dated 1836. These New York and Connecticut portraits are strikingly similar, clearly stock bodies with individualized heads. Half a dozen of these portraits are almost exactly alike except for the faces and details of dress (see Figs. 6 and 7). Bradley very probably made a practice of executing a stock of attractive headless bodies in New York during the winter months, and setting out in the spring through New York and Connecticut with a cartload of canvases to hunt for heads. This was common procedure in that day. The charge was about ten to twenty-five dollars a portrait, and buxom housewives were undoubtedly delighted to have their faces painted upon the graceful bodies of Bradley's stock figure with its slim aristocratic hands and elegant lace cap and collar. The "stock" portraits may be definitely attributed to Bradley because of their obvious similarity to the signed Content portraits (compare Fig. 3 with 6 and 7). These portraits are all about 25 by 30 inches. They are decisively drawn, beautifully decorative in outline and detail, as a group an outstanding example of the highly stylized approach to portraiture which distinguishes American primitives. Mrs. Helen G. Nelson wrote



FIG. 1. BRADLEY: CELLIST, 1832
Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington, D. C.



Figs. 2 & 3. BRADLEY: MR. AND MRS. SIMON CONTENT, 1833
Collection of Mrs. J. D. Gordan, New York

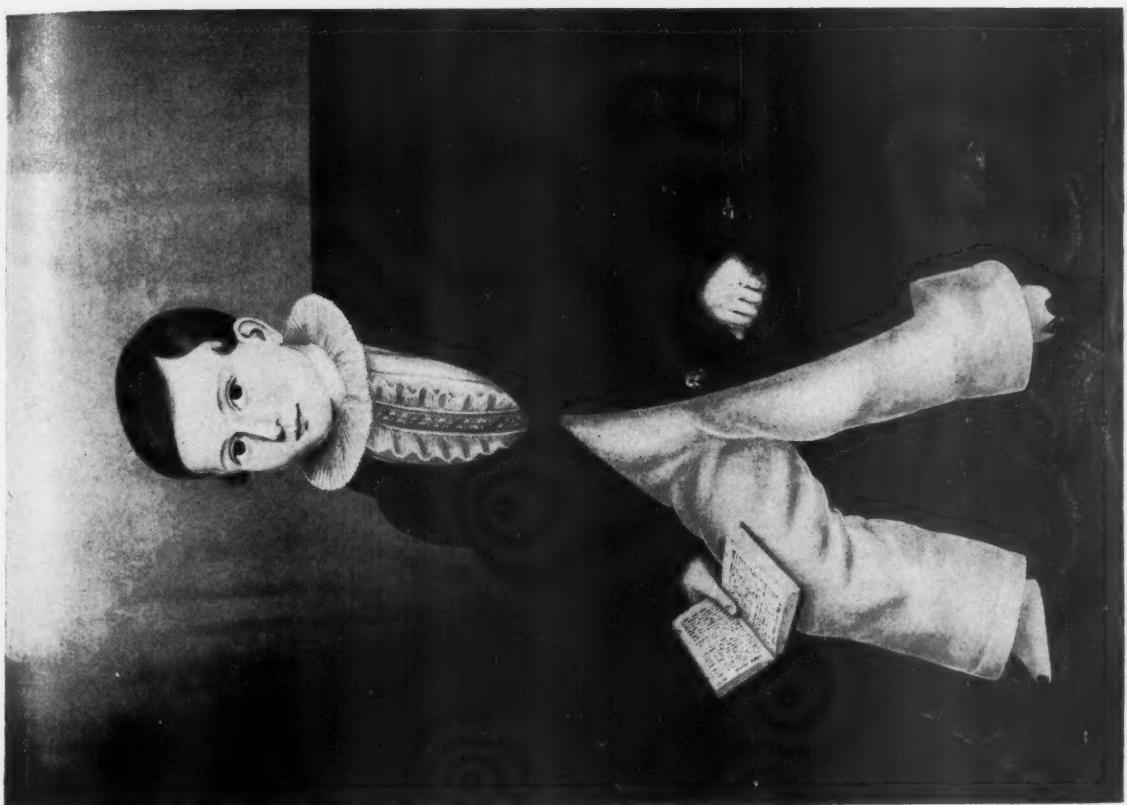


FIG. 5. BRADLEY: BOY ON EMPIRE SOFA, c. 1832-36
Halladay-Thomas Collection, Sheffield, Mass.



FIG. 4. BRADLEY: BOY WITH DOG, c. 1832-36
Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Collection, Williamsburg, Va.



FIG. 6. BRADLEY: MRS. ALMIRA PERRY OF KENT, CONN., C. 1836
Collection of Mrs. Henry B. Britton, Kent, Conn.



FIG. 7. UNIDENTIFIED LADY, FOUND IN THE HUDSON VALLEY, C. 1836
Primitives Gallery of Harry Stone, New York

in the *International Studio* for March, 1925 about the anonymous group of primitive portraits exhibited in Kent in 1924 during a street fair.* "Certain of the present owners," she says, "recall hearing their grandparents speak of a man who, driving up from New York in a wagon and stopping at each hamlet through which he passed, hired a room in the village for a time and proceeded to paint likenesses of those who would pay him his very modest fee. That he received popular support is evinced by the large number of his works to be found in the locality." Here is the most authentic description we are likely to find of Bradley's performance as a journeyman painter. In an unpublished manuscript entitled *Itinerant Portraiture in New York and New England* held in the Frick Art Reference Library Mr. Perry T. Rathbone discusses what he calls the Kent-Kingston group of portraits, which are Bradley portraits done in the vicinity of Kent, Connecticut and Kingston, New York. This anonymous artist, Mr. Rathbone states, arrived in Kent with a lot of prepared canvases which he completed on the spot. The similar New York group he tentatively associates with the work of this Kent limner. In discussing his style Mr. Rathbone remarks that "it is the arbitrary drawing of both face and figure and the intrepid stylization of his portraits that makes them invaluable in a survey of provincial art."

Mr. Rathbone's comments perfectly describe Bradley's early primitive style. After the mid thirties Bradley, while keeping to his characteristic manner of posing his sitters, became a much abler portrait painter, technically speaking. But his technical dexterity unfortunately developed at the expense of his instinctive feeling for clear linear and tonal pattern,

*Several of these Kent portraits were again shown in the exhibition of *American Primitives* held at the Newark Museum from Nov. 1930 to Feb. 1931, and the catalogue discusses them in detail on pp. 11 and 12, as follows:

In the introduction has been mentioned the itinerant portrait painter who arrived in country towns in the summer, his carriage filled with canvases of well-dressed men and women, waiting to have their faces inserted. His work is well illustrated in the group of portraits from Kent, Conn., first brought to the public notice by Mrs. G. Lawrence Nelson. Judging from the date of the newspapers held by two of the gentlemen, the artist visited the town in the summer of 1836. The poses and dresses of the women are almost identical, and so are their caps, collars and coiffures except for minor variations. The settings of two of the men are exactly alike except for the newspapers they are reading. They are all done with clearness and precision.

Yet it is remarkable how much of the personality of each sitter the artist has caught. Compare for example the portrait of Matthew Starr Barnum, No. 12, his warm color, his direct but rather self-conscious expression, with No. 9, that of John Milton Raymond, an older and more reserved gentleman whose deep set eyes, long upper lip and slightly drooping mouth give him rather an aloof air. Or again, the one of Mrs. Elizabeth Drake Fuller, No. 13, with fine, serious grey eyes, her large Bible and spectacles indicating years of discretion, and Mrs. Almira Perry, the delightful young woman, No. 4, whose fresh complexion, wide eyes, cap bristling with bows, and gay red book are all symbolic of her youth. There is a certain harmless flattery in all of the pictures — the lovely line of shoulder, the slim waists and soft white hands of the women; the dignified carriage of the men. The artist, knowing human nature, knew that these touches would please his sitters as they pleased his own aesthetic sense.

which disintegrated in the blurred contours and shading of the more conventionally styled illusionistic portraits (compare Figs. 9, 10 and 11). Bradley's earliest portraits are without question his best; and the evolution of his style makes it strikingly apparent that technical improvement is certainly not invariably the goal a painter should set for himself. The early portraits are rigidly posed and simply colored, but the rhythmic line and bold tonal pattern mark them as masterpieces of our early native tradition in the arts. When, a bit later, Bradley was able to "advance" from this sharp primitive style his handling is broader, looser, less formalized. Ribbons and laces are less crisply drawn and there is more realism in the treatment of flesh and hair. Bradley still used stock bodies for this group of portraits, but the heads are more naturalistically integrated with the torsos, and both exhibit a greater degree of naturalism. His characteristic primitive formula is still apparent, but in very much softened form. A few years later Bradley arrived at an almost illusionistic portrait style. The stock bodies were no longer used, though the poses and his "signature" hands are the same as those of his earliest portraits — the poses merely relaxed, the hands fleshy instead of wooden. These late portraits are competent, academic style work but singularly weak and ordinary and lacking in vitality. They are typical pot boilers in the quick-and-easy manner. Occasional exceptions are the family groups, such as the *Brown Family* in the Whitney Museum collection (Fig. 8). Here the challenging difficulties of an elaborate formal composition seem to have thrown the artist back for a bit into his vigorous early primitive style which is successfully combined with a more mature technique. Bradley's most "accomplished" portraits have a dull diluted look and must be dubbed mediocre, but he will live in the history of American art as the great primitive painter of the Cellist and the Simon Contents and the beribboned ladies of Kent.

PORTRAITS SIGNED BY AND ATTRIBUTED TO I. J. H. BRADLEY*

GROUP I — c. 1832-36

1. *Cellist* (Fig. 1). Signed "I. Bradley Delin Dated 1832" and "I. J. H. Bradley 1832." *Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington.*
- 2 and 3. Mr. and Mrs. Simon Content of New York City (Figs. 2 and 3). Each signed at lower right "I. Bradley 1833." Mr. Content holds Hebrew Bible, she Book of Common Prayer, symbols of a mixed marriage. *Collection of Mrs. J. D. Gordan, New York.*

*Oil on canvas unless otherwise specified.



FIG. 8. THE BROWN FAMILY, c. 1840
Whitney Museum of American Art, New York



FIG. 9. UNIDENTIFIED GENTLEMAN, FOUND
IN THE HUDSON VALLEY, c. 1836
*Primitives Gallery of Harry Stone,
New York*



FIG. 10. JOHN A. SLEIGHT OF KINGSTON,
N. Y., c. 1836-40
Senate House Association, Kingston, N. Y.



FIG. 11. DR. KIRBY OF BOSTON, c. 1840
*Formerly Kennedy & Co.,
New York*

4. Boy on Empire Sofa (Fig. 5). Signed at lower right "By J. Bradley. 128 Spring Street." *Halladay-Thomas Collection, Sheffield, Mass.*
- 5 and 6. Captain and Mrs. William Doty of Windham, Conn. *Formerly Hackett Galleries, New York.*
7. Boy with Dog (Fig. 4). Oil on panel. *Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Collection, Williamsburg, Va.*
8. Julius Norton of Bennington, Vt. Published by Mrs. H. C. Nelson in *Antiques*, July, 1941, "Portrait of a Potter-Musician." *Norton Family Collection, Bennington, Vt.*
- 9 and 10. John Milton Raymond and Mrs. Florilla Mills Raymond of Kent, Conn. Mr. Raymond holds the *New York Observer* dated July 4, 1836. *Mrs. Haxton Collection, Kent, Conn.*
- 11 and 12. Rufus Fuller and Mrs. Elizabeth Drake Fuller of Kent, Conn. *Collection of Miss Mary A. Hopson, Kent, Conn.*
- 13 and 14. Matthew Starr Barnum and Mrs. Julia Fuller Barnum of Kent, Conn. Mr. Barnum holds a *Morning Courier* dated June, 1836. Mrs. Barnum reproduced as no. 11 in the 1930 Newark Museum Catalogue (*American Primitives*). *Collection of Miss Mary A. Hopson, Kent, Conn.*
15. Phoebe Preston Haviland of Kent, Conn. *Collection of Mrs. Augusta Bedell, Kent, Conn.*
16. Miss Myra Ann Mills of Kent, Conn. *Mrs. Haxton Collection, Kent, Conn.*
17. Mrs. Almira Perry of Kent, Conn. (Fig. 6). *Collection of Mrs. Henry B. Britton, Kent, Conn.*
18. Unidentified Lady from New Canaan, Conn. *Miss Olivette Falls Collection, New York.*
- 19 and 20. Unidentified Lady and Gentleman from Dutchess County, N. Y. *American Folk Art Gallery, New York.*
21. Unidentified Gentleman from Cortland, N. Y. Oil on panel. *Perry T. Rathbone Collection, St. Louis, Mo.*
- 22 and 23. Mr. and Mrs. Welcome Arnold of Rhinebeck, N. Y. Mrs. Arnold was Mary Rowe of Stamfordville, N. Y. Mr. Arnold's portrait is inscribed "Feb. 1, 1833, Rhinebeck, N. Y." *Collection of Mr. Safford A. Crummey, Goshen, N. Y.*
- 24 and 25. Unidentified Lady (Fig. 6) and Gentleman (Fig. 9). Found in the Hudson Valley. *Primitives Gallery of Harry Stone, New York.*
- 26 and 27. Mr. and Mrs. Sheffield of New Haven, Conn. *American Folk Art Gallery, New York.*
28. Unidentified Lady, 1835. Reproduced in Carl W. Drepperd, *American Pioneer Arts and Artists*, Pond-Ekberg, 1942, p. 107. *Albert Duveen, New York.*

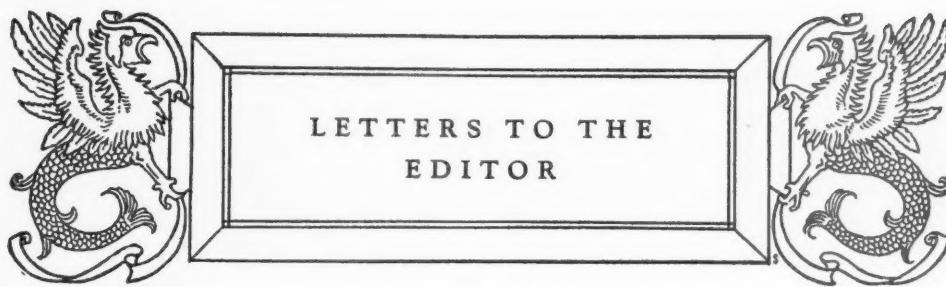
GROUP II — c. 1836-40

- 29 and 30. John A. Sleight (Fig. 10) and Mrs. Sarah Ann DeWitt Sleight of Kingston, N. Y. *Senate House Association, Kingston, N. Y.*
31. Rev. De Witt of Kingston, N. Y. *Senate House Association, Kingston, N. Y.*

32. Rev. De Witt the Younger of Kingston, N. Y., brother of Rev. De Witt and Sarah Ann De Witt (above). *Senate House Association, Kingston, N. Y.*
33. John Ten Eyck of Kingston, N. Y. *Collection of Matthew Ten Eyck De Witt, Hurley, N. Y.*
34. Ten Eyck De Witt of Kingston, N. Y. *Collection of Matthew Ten Eyck De Witt, Hurley, N. Y.*
35. Lady of the Radcliffe Family of Kingston, N. Y. *Senate House Association, Kingston, N. Y.*
- 36 and 37. Rev. Edward Winslow Paige and Mrs. Clarissa Paige of Albany. *Mr. J. Levi Donhauser Collection, Albany, N. Y.*
38. Mrs. Walter Tryon Livingston (Elizabeth McKinstry) of Scotia, N. Y. *Collection of the Misses Willson, Clermont, N. Y.*
- 39 and 40. Mr. and Mrs. John Sanders of Scotia, N. Y. Mrs. Sanders was Jane Livingston, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Tryon Livingston (above). *Collection of the Misses Willson, Clermont, N. Y.*
- 41 and 42. Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Pearce. Found in Connecticut. *American Folk Art Gallery, New York.*
43. Unidentified Lady. Found in Dutchess County, N. Y. *Primitives Gallery of Harry Stone, New York.*

GROUP III — c. 1840

44. The Brown Family (Fig. 8), Willard Brown, Hepsibah Keyes Brown and their children. In an article in the N. Y. *World Telegram*, Fri., March 18, 1932, Mrs. Karl Illava of Bronxville, N. Y., identifies the subjects as her great-grandparents. Mrs. Hepsibah Keyes Brown is perhaps related to Mrs. Clarissa Keyes Paige of Albany (no. 38 above).
45. The Pratt Family of Meriden, Conn., Julius and Lydia D. Pratt and their children. Reproduced as frontispiece in *Reminiscences* by Julius Howard Pratt, privately printed, 1910.
46. Alexander MacGregor and his Family. *Newport Historical Society, Newport, R. I.*
47. William Stephens Vanderbilt. He married in 1843 at which time he was living in Nyack, N. Y. Portraits possibly painted at that time. *Collection of Mrs. Louise Vanderbilt, New York.*
48. Mrs. Miller of Newton, N. J. *American Folk Art Gallery, New York.*
49. Dr. Kirby, first homeopathic doctor in Boston (Fig. 11). *Formerly Kennedy & Co., New York.*



To the Editor of Art in America:

By an inadvertence in my review of Mr. Douglas's "Leonardo", in your January number, I seem to make him attribute the Liverpool predella of the Pistoia altarpiece to Leonardo. While the slip is too palpable to be misleading, I am glad to record my agreement with Mr. Douglas in accepting Dr. Valentiner's attribution of the Liverpool panel to Perugino.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

To the Editor of Art in America:

I was somewhat surprised to find in the January, 1945, issue of *ART IN AMERICA* a would-be first publication of a series of stained glass windows in the church of S. Nazaro in Milan which I had published and extensively discussed in "Das Schwäbische Museum", 1927, (which easily can be found in the Library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art).

The reader will find in my article the full answer to several questions which Mrs. E. Tietze-Conrat declared as insoluble.

I had given the complete reconstruction of the two double windows, and the exact explanation of all twelve scenes of St. Catherine's legend, while Mrs. E. Tietze-Conrat declares that "a satisfactory reconstruction is made difficult by the fact that not all scenes may be identified with certainty."

Furthermore, I had taken into consideration the historic facts—not even mentioned by Mrs. E. Tietze-Conrat—that the chapel dedicated to St. Catherine with an altarpiece representing the "Adoration of the Magi" had been erected by Prothasius Busti who died September 10, 1510; finally, that the original building had been substituted by the now existing larger chapel—decorated with Lanino's murals of 1546. A part of the stained glass windows and the Gothic wooden carved altarpiece have been transferred to the new building.

I would say that all these undeniable facts are of essential importance, and should not have been passed over with silence.

As for the position of the stained glass windows in the history of art, I have pointed out that they are the work of a Suabian studio of the beginning of the 16th century, and that there exists a piece representing "Christ before Pilate" by the same workshop in the "Alttuermer Sammlung" in Stuttgart, and that the paintings on the wings of the Talheimer Altar in Stuttgart show close stylistic connections.

The knowledge and imitation of Durer's graphic oeuvre was so common at that time (cfr. Andrea del Sarto) that the fact that single figures in the stained glass compositions are copied from the woodcuts B. 117 and B. 120 does not justify the assumption that the artist should have belonged to Durer's workshop.

W. SUIDA

To the Editor of Art in America:

Professor Suida informs me that the painted windows in San Nazaro in Milan which I discussed in the January issue of *ART IN AMERICA*, were published by him in "Das Schwäbische Museum," Zeitschrift für Kultur, Kunst und Geschichte Schwabens, 1927. I refer the reader to the mentioned local magazine which in this country exists in the libraries of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and Harvard University. Professor Suida by disregarding the connection with Dürer reached conclusions considerably different from mine.

E. TIETZE CONRAT

A SUGGESTION FROM THE PUBLISHER

Requests are already being received for extra copies of the forthcoming October issue of *ART IN AMERICA*, the entire issue of which will be published in co-operation with the American Research Council with Mr. Lloyd Goodrich, its director, as guest editor.

In our desire to conform to our government's ruling on the restriction in the use of paper, we find we are sometimes unable to supply the late requests for extra copies and are forced to postpone the starting date of new subscriptions.

We therefore suggest that, in order not to be disappointed, you kindly bear in mind that your order of extra copies of our October American Art Research number should be in our hands by September 15th. This also applies to new subscriptions for 1946, as a copy of this special October number will be given free with all 1946 subscriptions as long as the edition lasts.

THE PUBLISHER

